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Gendered Agency in War and Peace

Gender Justice and Women's Activism in Post-Conflict Bosnia-Herzegovina



Maria O'Reilly

Rethinking Peace and Conflict Studies

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palgrave
macmillan

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Rethinking Peace and Conflict Studies
ISBN 978-1-352-00144-0   ISBN 978-1-352-00145-7 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-352-00145-7

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017955072

Cover illustration: Photo of Alija Kučukalić's Monument to Female Fighter, created by Sanja Vrzić.

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Macmillan Publishers Ltd.
The registered company address is: The Campus, 4 Crinan Street, London, N1 9XW, United Kingdom

Dedicated
to all who are working in Bosnia
to find, identify, and bury missed and missing loved ones;
to achieve justice and redress for survivors of violence,
in all its forms;
to build just and durable forms of peace

Acknowledgements

The research and writing of this study would not have been possible without the help and encouragement of a number of people and organisations in both the UK and Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), to whom I owe sincere thanks.

This book started life as a PhD project, and I thank my supervisor, Vivienne Jabri, for her advice and encouragement, detailed feedback, and challenging questions over the years. The study also benefited substantially from insights gained as a post-doctoral researcher on the "Gender of Justice" (GoJ) project. I thank my GoJ colleagues Kirsten Campbell, Elma Demir, Jasenka Ferizović, Admir Jugo, and Gorana Mlinarević for sharing insights and experiences of gender justice processes in BiH, and commenting on various draft chapters. Thanks also to others who have read and commented on various aspects of this project, including Claudia Aradau, Catherine Baker, Stefanie Kappler, Kimberly Hutchings, Laura McLeod, Jelena Obradovic-Wochnik, and Oliver Richmond. Any errors or omissions are of course my own. The book was finalised during my post-doctoral fellowship at Queen Mary, University of London, and I thank Kimberly Hutchings for her support during my fellowship.

In Bosnia, I am deeply indebted to a number of people for extending friendship and advice throughout several stretches of fieldwork. I am especially grateful to Mirela and Osman Hrnjić who provided a home away from home, and were a source of constant support and enthusiasm. Thanks also to teachers at Udruženje Lingvisti and Centre for Hispanic

Studies (CEH), particularly to Sandra Zlotrg, for fabulous language classes and intercultural learning. I am also grateful to many friends in Sarajevo—special thanks to Jasmin Ramović, Maja Šoštarić, Nejra Nuna Čengić, Judie Schultz, Juliet Walker, and Alma Bešlagić, for their hospitality, friendship, and numerous suggestions. This research could not have been undertaken without the support, enthusiasm, and expertise of a number of people. I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to Una Tokmačić for her friendship as well as the expert interpretation, translation, and research assistance she provided in the field. Without her support, enthusiasm, kindness, and generosity, I would never have been able to navigate my way through fieldwork, nor have had as much fun doing so. Thanks also to Sarah Quillinan for generously sharing advice and experiences, and to Aida Begić for her excellent interpretation in Sanski Most and elsewhere. I also thank Goran Bubalo (formerly at Catholic Relief Services) for his advice, knowledge, and numerous suggestions of people to contact; Saliha Đuderija and Alma Deverović-Ešpek at the BiH Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees for allowing me to attend several consultations; Lejla Mamut and Selma Korjenić from TRIAL for generously giving time, help, support, and advice regarding key issues in my research and numerous suggestions of people to contact; Maja Šoštarić for inviting me to a focus group on gender and transitional justice; the staff at the International Commission on Missing Persons for allowing me to attend a conference and a focus group on memorials in Sarajevo; the organisers of the Women's Court for the Former Yugoslavia for enabling me to attend events related to the initiative; Srebrenica Memorial Center at Potočari for the opportunity to participate in their Summer Research University in July 2011; and Lejla Somun-Krupalija and Nejra Nuna Čengić for suggesting numerous organisations and activists to contact, as well as key texts written by feminist scholars from the region. Special thanks are also due to Emsuda Mujagić and the activists of Srcem do Mira (From Heart to Peace) for allowing me to stay at their House of Peace in Kozarac on several occasions in 2011 and 2012.

Above all, I am extremely grateful to numerous activists in Bosnia who gave their time, shared their experiences, concerns and hopes, with generosity, despite their busy schedules and the frustrations involved in discussions that focus on "dealing with the past". Without their willingness to share often painful yet inspiring stories, this research would not have been possible. I hope this book manages to convey in writing, at least in part, the strength, courage, and resilience they narrated in person.

Last but certainly not least, I would like to thank my partner Chris, and all our friends and family, for their love, support, and encouragement.

This book is derived, in part, from an article published in the *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* on 31 August 2016, available online at http://wwww.tandfonline.com/ [https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2016.1199482] and from an article published in the *International Journal of Feminist Politics* on 10 December 2012, available online at http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/14616742.2012.726096

Funding

This study was supported by the Economic and Social Research Council (grant number ES/G013993/1), British Academy ("Gendered Agency in War and Peace" project), European Research Council ("Gender of Justice" project, grant number 313626) and Arts and Humanities Research Council (PaCCS: Inter-Disciplinary Research Innovation Award, grant number AH/N008480/1).

Contents

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AFŽ	Anti-Fascist Front of Women (Antifašistička Front Žena)
AI	Amnesty International
BiH	Bosnia-Herzegovina (*Bosna i Hercegovina)*
BIRN	Balkan Investigative Reporting Network
Cantons	The ten administrative units (*kantoni*) that constitute the Federation of BiH, created by the Bosniak-Croat Washington Agreement of 1994
CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CRS	Catholic Relief Services (an American humanitarian relief organisation)
DDRR	Disarmament, Demobilisation, Rehabilitation and Reintegration
DPA	Dayton Peace Agreement, signed in 1995, ended war in Bosnia
DTA	Discourse-Theoretic Analysis
EU	European Union
FBiH	Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (or Federation). One of the two entities that constitute Bosnia-Herzegovina, jointly controlled by Bosniak and Croat parties, and dominated numerically by Croats and Bosniaks
FLD	Foundation for Local Democracy
HDZ	Croatian Democratic Union (or *Hrvatska demokratska zajednica*)

ICC	International Criminal Court
ICCPED	International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance
ICMP	International Commission on Missing Persons
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICT	International Criminal Tribunal
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IDPs	Internally Displaced Person
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
IR	International Relations
JNA	Yugoslav People's Army (or *Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija*)
KM	Convertible Mark (*Konvertibilna marka*)
LGBTQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual, and Queer
MPI	Missing Persons Institute
NAP	National Action Plan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NN	Unidentified Person (*No Name*)
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
OHR	Office of the High Representative, charged with overseeing the civilian implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, charged with organising and monitoring post-war elections until 2002; also implements programmes around themes of community engagement, parliamentary support, education, human rights, rule of law, governance, and security cooperation
OTP	Office of the Prosecutor
RPE	Rules of Procedure and Evidence
RS	*Republika Srpska,* one of two entities making up the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Established in 1992, it was officially recognised by the Dayton Peace Agreement, and is politically controlled by Serb parties and numerically dominated by Serbs
SDA	Party of Democratic Action (or *Stranka demokratske akcije*)

SDP	Social Democratic Party (*Social demokratska partija*)
SDS	Serbian Democratic Party (or *Srpska Demokratska Stranka*)
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
SSR	Security Sector Reform
TJ	Transitional Justice
TJ Strategy	Transitional Justice Strategy in Bosnia-Herzegovina 2012–2016
TRIAL	TRIAL International (previously known as Track Impunity Always)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNMIBH	United Nations Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VWS	Victims and Witnesses Section (of the ICTY)
WCC	War Crimes Chamber at the State Court of BiH
WGEID	UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances
WiB	Women in Black
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

What is the relationship between gender, agency, and peacebuilding? Do contemporary peacebuilding practices provide “gender justice” in (post-) conflict settings, or alternatively deliver “gendered” forms of peace marked by injustice and inequality? How and why do the gendered subjects of peacebuilding demonstrate agency and resistance in response to international peacebuilding interventions? Since the 1990s, reports of widespread sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV)[1] perpetrated against civilians in situations of conflict have captured international attention. Media accounts, investigations by human rights groups, and fact-finding missions by international organisations have all documented the gendered nature of contemporary warfare—including the disproportionate targeting of women and girls through rape and sexual violence,[2] and the gendered impact of enforced disappearances (e.g. Dewhirst and Kapur 2015).[3] The increased visibility of SGBV in armed conflict has bolstered international support for a range of justice mechanisms which hold potential to address gender-specific harms[4] experienced by women in contexts of political violence. The criminalisation of a range of gender-based harms under the Statutes of the International Criminal Court (ICC) and ad hoc International Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, as well as domestic criminal codes, has provided scope for survivors to access justice and redress. Non-judicial mechanisms—spanning truth-telling initiatives, reparation programmes, institutional reform, and so on—are increasingly deployed

M. O’Reilly, *Gendered Agency in War and Peace*, Rethinking Peace and Conflict Studies, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-352-00145-7_1

in peacebuilding contexts to deal with complex legacies of violence and wide-scale human rights abuses. Though early approaches were critiqued for being "gender blind", more recent initiatives have incorporated both women and gender into mechanisms aimed at providing justice, truth, reparations, and guarantees of non-repetition for survivors (Theidon 2007; Valji 2010).[5]

The importance of integrating both women and gender into peacebuilding and justice initiatives is increasingly stressed by international, regional, and local actors. The adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) in October 2000 is hailed as a "landmark" in this regard, by placing gender equality on the UN's peace and security agenda for the first time (Cohn 2008). UNSCR 1325 and subsequent resolutions on "Women, Peace and Security" (WPS)[6] form a key policy framework for incorporating women's rights and gender issues into contemporary peacebuilding and post-war justice practices. These resolutions recognise the gendered impact of conflict, and stress the importance of integrating a gender perspective into peacebuilding. They call for women's full participation as active agents of peacebuilding, and affirm the need to respond to SGBV in conflict by holding perpetrators to account, and by providing survivors with access to justice, protection, and redress.[7] A wide array of strategies have emerged, that variously seek to end impunity for SGBV, empower survivors, and mobilise political will, resources, and coordinated responses around the WPS agenda.[8] These developments have materialised following years of advocacy by women's organisations and civil society groups (Askin 1997; Mertus and Hocevar Van Wely 2004). The post-Cold War era saw a "new era of feminist consciousness" (Enloe 1994) emerge, with feminist scholars and practitioners challenging the gender bias of dominant human rights discourse and practice (Bunch and Reilly 1994), and contesting the widespread impunity enjoyed by perpetrators of SGBV in wartime (Askin 1997; de Brouwer 2005; Copelon 1994; Chappell 2015).

Despite the growing rhetoric on the importance of gender justice and equality, many argue that international peacebuilding interventions still fail to address the gender-specific concerns of women in conflicted and post-conflict settings, and continue to overlook the agency of women in war and peace. Women continue to be sidelined from official peace processes (Bell 2004; Bell and O'Rourke 2010; UN Women 2010); the issue of gender equality is rarely prioritised in the design and implementation of peace agreements and post-conflict reconstruction programmes (Chinkin

and Paradine 2001), and SGBV in conflict is often not adequately addressed in post-war justice processes (Campbell 2016; Copelon 2000; de Brouwer 2005; Mishkowski and Mlinarević 2009). The "post-war moment", feminist activists and scholars remind us, regularly remains a "gendered continuum of conflict and violence" (Žarkov and Cockburn 2002; Moser 2001), in which gendered forms of injustice, inequality, and insecurity regularly become institutionalised (Pankhurst 2008b). Furthermore, dominant discourses on peacebuilding, as espoused by international organisations and major states, frequently (re)produce problematic representations of women's agency—stereotyping women in orientalist terms as "homogenized victims of a 'backward' society", or alternatively in essentialised and instrumentalised terms as mothers and peacebuilders (Hudson 2012: 454). These stereotypes are problematic in devaluing women's agency in conflict and peace, and contributing to their disempowerment (Hudson 2012).

In response to these shortcomings, this book examines the gender politics of contemporary peacebuilding. It develops a feminist critique of the "liberal peace project"[9] through a study of transitional justice (TJ) policies and practices, and women's responses to official discourse surrounding them. Working through traumatic memory is central to how individuals and societies experience and deal with the aftermath of mass violence. TJ mechanisms play a pivotal role in disciplining memory and in (re)constructing a usable past upon which "peace" and "justice" can be (re)built (Edkins 2003: 5–19).[10] These encompass judicial and non-judicial tools and approaches—including criminal trials, truth-seeking and truth-telling initiatives, reparation programmes, vetting and institutional reform—which are intended to enable societies emerging from violent conflict or large-scale human rights abuses come to terms with the past and prevent its repetition in the future.[11] However, meanings of "peace" and "justice" are essentially contested, creating important opportunities for gendered agency and resistance to be voiced, often in subtle and nuanced ways. Based on discourse analysis of key TJ policies, narrative interviews with women activists, and observation of gender justice events across Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH),[12] this study examines how local expressions of *gendered agency and resistance* emerge within the context of an internationally supported peacebuilding mission. Focusing in particular on issues of wartime sexual violence and missing persons, it explores how women in BiH have responded in agential and resistant ways to TJ policies and programmes emanating from international and domestic elites. The book

reveals how BiH women define and perceive post-conflict justice in response to gendered experiences of sexual violence and enforced disappearances.

Drawing on debates within feminist social and political theory on the nature of *gender justice*, this study explores women activists' struggles around justice, which entail attempts to reclaim agency and political subjectivity in the aftermath of violence. The book highlights how victims, survivors, and their representatives are pushing for a more complex form of justice than what current paradigms of retributive and restorative justice provide—one that bestows *recognition* of suffering, addresses demands for the *redistribution* of material and symbolic/cultural resources, and/or enables victims to *participate* and reclaim voice and agency in the aftermath of trauma.[13] Victims and survivors of wartime violence, and their representatives, have mobilised as agents of change in post-war BiH through forms of activism that centre on "dealing with the past". Through remembrance ceremonies, testimony gathering, political protesting, and the production of cultural texts, images, and monuments, activists are articulating a variety of political demands in response to what they perceive as the shortcomings of the liberal peace project: namely the failure of both local and international actors to create a viable, just, and durable form of peace. These practices, in my view, represent attempts to reclaim agency and political subjectivity from a post-Cold War "civilising mission" (Paris 2002) focused upon governing and managing its host population via mechanisms of regulation, education, discipline, and control (Zanotti 2006), rather than prioritising issues of social justice and the achievement of positive peace for the majority of Bosnian citizens.

The Liberal Peace: Peacebuilding as Statebuilding

This study stems from my interest in the theory and practice of internationally supported peacebuilding and reconstruction operations in conflicted and post-conflict countries. These missions aim to prevent the resumption or escalation of violent conflict and to create a durable and self-sustaining peace by seeking "to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to prevent a relapse into conflict" (Boutros-Ghali 1992: paragraph 55). In the post-Cold War era, peacebuilding interventions have focused on (re)building a "liberal peace" in war-torn states through the (re)construction of liberal polities, economies, and societies (Bellamy and Williams 2004: 4–5; Paris 1997, 2004).

The vision of the liberal peace has become the dominant normative and operational framework for peace support interventions (Mac Ginty and Richmond 2007: 492), and characterises all major operations of the post-Cold War period (Paris 2004). Due to a growing international consensus regarding the need to transform "war-shattered states" into "liberal-market economies" (Paris 2004), post-conflict interventions since the 1990s have largely conformed to a standardised,[14] top-down model of reconstruction that prioritises Western politico-cultural norms and neo-liberal economics (Mac Ginty 2007: 457). Consequently, peacebuilding missions, despite their obvious complexities, have shared a common strategy—the (re)construction of liberal democratic governing systems and market-oriented economic growth—on the normative assumption that these help to create the necessary conditions for a stable and lasting peace to emerge (Paris 2004: 1–5).

The notion of liberal peacebuilding[15] gained widespread international attention following the UN's 1992 publication of *An Agenda for Peace*, and grew out of an acknowledgement of the limitations of traditional peacekeeping measures in providing support to countries undergoing the transition from conflict to recovery and long-term development.[16] As a result of this transformation of peace operations, the enormously complex nature of post-Cold War conflicts began to be addressed in a more multi-dimensional manner, increasing the potential for self-sustaining peace to emerge in societies embarking on the difficult transition from war to peace (Richmond 2002: 140–180). Top-down peacebuilding strategies (focused on the rebuilding of effective state institutions and structures, long-term development frameworks, and democratic rebuilding) became coupled with bottom-up initiatives at the grassroots level (centred on empowering communities, utilising grassroots peacebuilding facilities and resources, and developing sustainable citizen-based initiatives).[17] Conventional forms of negotiation, mediation, and peacekeeping were complemented by a multitude of activities designed not only to (re)construct infrastructures but also to liberalise the political, economic, and social institutions of post-conflict states (Mac Ginty and Richmond 2007: 491; Mac Ginty 2007: 457). Peace support operations now involve a wide array of actors undertaking a broad range of activities including ceasefire monitoring, formalised peace negotiations, Disarmament, Demobilisation, Rehabilitation and Reintegration programmes (DDRR), Security Sector Reform (SSR), civil society capacity-building, monitoring and conducting elections, repatriating refugees,

rebuilding physical infrastructure, civil service reform, good governance, marketisation, and economic restructuring (Mac Ginty 2008: 144; Paris 1997: 55). Major peacebuilding actors[18] promote, and often impose, a distinctly western and liberal internationalist vision of peace through the (re)establishment of sovereignty, security, democratic governance, respect for human rights, the rule of law, and developed, open markets. Underlying these interventions is the predefined aim of "getting to Denmark" (Woolmark and Pritchett 2002)—(re)creating well-functioning liberal states, with developed political, economic, and social institutions (Fukuyama 2004a: 30), thereby reinforcing Westphalian notions of modernist sovereignty (Richmond and Franks 2009a: 20).

One of the most extensive missions continues to take place in post-conflict BiH, where a multitude of peacebuilding actors have taken control of governance to establish a liberal peace (Vandenberg 2005; Richmond 2004: 92). After nearly four years of civil war, the international community was provided with extensive remits, through the provisions of the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords (DPA) and the associated UN Mission in BiH (UNMIBH), to reconstruct BiH into a stable, multi-ethnic, pluralist, liberal state in order to overcome entrenched ethnic divisions and prevent a return to violence (Paris 2004: 99; Richmond and Franks 2009a: 18–21). Over two decades of international statebuilding in BiH, widely viewed as a template for other post-conflict reconstruction projects, has provoked extensive debates concerning the lessons learned (and not learned) from the Bosnian case, the achievements and limitations of the liberal peace model, and the unintended consequences its application generates in post-conflict environments.[19] Scholars have critiqued liberal peacebuilding in terms of the operational *efficiency* and *effectiveness* of the methods employed to end violent conflict and consolidate peace (Paris 2004; Chesterman et al. 2005; Paris and Sisk 2007), noting in particular the unforeseen problems that arise from processes of political and economic liberalisation (Paris 2004).

Worryingly, not only is the utilitarian effectiveness of liberal peacebuilding in doubt but the *legitimacy* of the project is increasingly questioned (Tadjbakhsh 2010: 126). Critical scholars note that this dominant model of reconstruction appears to be characterised by cultural insensitivity (Richmond 2001: 330; Mac Ginty 2010b: 353), the prioritisation of hegemonic and neo-colonial agendas (Paris 2002: 637–638),[20] and the drowning out of local voices, who are often reduced to mere "objects" of intervention (Richmond 2005: 158). The liberal peace that emerges from

such critiques is one which appears to be coercive instead of emancipatory, laden with the interests, objectives, and norms of the mainly western international community. Peacebuilding as statebuilding is critiqued for being externally driven by international donors rather than localised and context-driven, and for being geared towards the (re)construction of military security, state institutions, markets, territoriality and the provision of only basic rights, rather than effectively engaging with the everyday needs of citizens and their desire for genuine "ownership" of the peace process, for social justice, and for a peace that reduces rather than enlarges political, economic, and social fragmentation.[21] Thus, whilst sympathetic observers endorse the project as "a basically sound idea" (Paris 2004: ix), critical assessments condemn it as a modern version of colonial "civilising missions" (Paris 2002: 637–638); a biopolitical technology of security that merely *manages* and *contains* disorder (Duffield 2005: 157); an exercise in "aggressive social engineering" (Pugh 2005: 459); or as "a virtual peace" (Richmond 2006: 309) contingent upon long-term, or perhaps even permanent, external intervention (Richmond 2004: 97), described by Ignatieff as "Empire Lite" (Ignatieff 2003).

In response to the perceived "hegemony of the liberal peace" (Jabri 2010: 41–57) and to the poor-quality peace that has been built in societies emerging from violent conflict, work is now underway to breathe new life into peacebuilding theories and practices, by refocusing attention back onto local contexts, communities, and agencies. Questions of local autonomy, agency, politicisation, and self-determination, as well as the ways in which international intervention obstruct or facilitate these dynamics, have been added to critical agendas for peacebuilding scholarship and practice (Richmond 2010b). There is a growing awareness of the capacity of local actors to adapt, resist, ignore, or subvert liberal peace interventions, despite the overwhelming weight of the liberal internationalist project (Mac Ginty 2010a; Richmond 2010c: 665–692). Attention is being drawn to the emergence of "hybrid political orders" (Boege et al. 2009; see also Brown et al. 2010) and "liberal–local hybrids" (Richmond and Franks 2009b) in which different forms of governance—founded on both customary and externally introduced political and social institutions, and on both local and international value systems—coexist in potentially valuable and constructive ways. The ethical and political dilemmas raised by liberal interventionism are increasingly being discussed, with attention drawn to the tendency of dominant peacebuilding institutions, discourses, and practices to marginalise and disempower the "subaltern" (Spivak

1988; see also Prakash 1994)—to view "entire post-war populations either as traumatized victims lacking the ability to make decisions about the future, or as people driven by destructive psychosis that renders them incapable or morally unworthy of positive contributions to peace-building" (Lundy and McGovern 2008: 278, quoting Michael Pugh).

Exploring Liberal Peacebuilding and Women's Activism Through a Feminist/Gender Lens

This study both contributes to and develops the paths laid down by critical research agendas for peace (see Richmond 2007b, 2009), particularly recent explorations of local agency and autonomy in post-conflict environments, through a study of women's activism around TJ issues in post-war Bosnia. It engages with the need to not only decentre and destabilise the dominating, exclusionary, masculinist,[22] ethnocentrist, elitist, and power-laden discourses and practices of liberal peacebuilding, but to also recover the "subjugated knowledges" (Foucault 1980, cited in: Spivak 1988: 272) and agency of women subjected to myriad forms of *gendered* violence—whether epistemic (Spivak 1988: 272),[23] direct, structural, cultural (Galtung 1990, 1971),[24] or normative[25] violence (Butler 1999, 2004a, b)—in the wartime past and/or post-war present. Further work is required to highlight the mutually constitutive relationship between gender and liberal peacebuilding—to reveal how *gendered relations of power* are forged, shaped, and reproduced through the discourses and practices of key peacebuilding actors, to reflect upon the *gendered limits of possibility* being (re)constructed in post-conflict societies, and to explore the agential ways in which women activists actively negotiate, resist, and potentially transform structures of domination, inequality, and oppression in the aftermath of war. To this end, this study (a) exposes the relative differentiation and positioning of women and men, masculine and feminine, in TJ discourses and practices; (b) explores the concrete sites/spaces of liberal interventionism to investigate how gendered relations of domination, subordination, and inequality are (re)created; and (c) examines the responses and resistances that peace and justice interventions have induced, most notably the activities, strategies, and oppositional voices from women-centred groups and movements (Marchand and Runyan 2000: 2).

In this study, I develop a feminist critique of the liberal peace through an analysis of key TJ policies and practices currently being implemented in post-conflict BiH, and the responses of women activists to the official discourses surrounding them. Crucially, this study examines how local expressions of gendered agency[26] emerge within the context of an internationally sponsored peacebuilding mission. It explores the efforts made by individuals to construct "livable" and "grievable lives" (Butler 1999, 2004a, b) for themselves and others in the aftermath of violence, in ways that reiterate or transgress dominant models or understandings of both gender and of justice in the post-war period. This study is an exploration of the gendered politics of victimhood and survival in contemporary BiH, focusing on the post-war struggles of women whose agency is to varying degrees unrecognised and misrecognised. It highlights the gendered and gendering nature of TJ policies and practices, which I interpret as processes that mould women, victims, and survivors into gendered, ethnicised, and classed subjects of a particular kind, as differentiated from men and from other women. The politics within which I locate gendered agency are those of liberal interventionism, the state, nationalism, and feminism. Focusing on the construction of gendered subjects, the study enquires into the possibilities and limits of feminist change in the aftermath of violent conflict. Of crucial importance here are the interlocking forms of domination, (in) justice, and (in) security constructed and reproduced by liberal interventionism, on the one hand, and contesting ethnonationalist political agendas, on the other.

This study is undertaken from an explicitly feminist perspective, deploying a "gender" or "feminist lens" (Sjoberg and Gentry 2007; Steans 2006; Peterson and Runyan 1999; Sjoberg 2006) to highlight the gendered nature of current policies and practices of delivering peace and justice, as well as to reformulate and revitalise these policies and practices with the help of feminist insights. As Steans (2006: 30) argues:

> To look at the world through gender lenses is to focus on gender as a particular kind of power relation, or to trace out the ways in which gender is central to international processes.

Lenses act as filters, used "to foreground some things, and background others" (Peterson and Runyan 1999: 21). I approach my project through

the lenses provided by feminist approaches to International Relations (IR). Consequently, I embrace a methodological perspective that "fundamentally challenges the often unseen androcentric or masculine biases in the way that knowledge has traditionally been constructed" (Tickner 2005: 3)—in this case, specifically in relation to liberal peacebuilding. My aim is to expose the gendered nature of the liberal peace project by making visible the "gender-blind" ideas, meanings, and perspectives that are currently concealed and taken for granted within TJ discourses and practices. In addition to deconstructing these gender-biased knowledge claims, I highlight how activists in Bosnia are working to reconstruct "gender-just" policies and practices, enabling women to engage in the historical, political, and theoretical process of constituting themselves as *subjects* and not merely as *objects* (Hartsock 1990: 170–172) of liberal interventionism.

The study unpacks the complex relationship between gender, agency, and contemporary peacebuilding, through an exploration of women's engagement with key TJ policies and practices in post-conflict BiH. It offers a fresh perspective on post-conflict peacebuilding by identifying and critically examining how local expressions of gendered agency and resistance emerge within the context of international peace and security interventions. Existing studies have revealed the gendered nature of war and peace (Enloe 1990, 2004; Sjoberg 2013). They show that women are routinely sidelined from official peace processes (Bell and O'Rourke 2010), and highlight that gender equality is rarely prioritised in peace agreements (Anderson 2012) or post-conflict reconstruction programmes (Aroussi 2011). This highlights the gap between UN policy rhetoric and the reality of women's lives (Olonisakin et al. 2011). A "gendered peace" frequently emerges (Pankhurst 2008a), in which gendered, racialised, sexualised, and classed power structures are often (re) inscribed (Pratt 2013). Yet whilst existing studies have uncovered the gendered modes of domination, subordination, and inequality frequently (re)created in (post-)conflict settings, they have been slower to examine whether and how expressions of gendered agency and resistance arise in response to peacebuilding interventions (O'Reilly 2013). Drawing on personal testimonies gathered from activists from across BiH, this study explores the ways in which women articulate agency and resistance in the aftermath of wartime trauma, injury, and loss. It highlights their capacity to foster and deploy different modes of agency as they actively engage in TJ processes.

Gender, Justice, and Agency: Theoretical Framework

Conceptualising Gender Justice

The concept of gender justice is central to this study. Yet, gender justice in relation to war and peace remains poorly conceptualised in current literature, with scholars often failing to differentiate gender justice from other concepts such as gender equality and women's empowerment (Goetz 2007: 17). In response, this book extends Nancy Fraser's (1997, 2003, 2005, 2008) tripartite model of justice to peacebuilding contexts, and foregrounds notions of recognition, redistribution, and representation/voice as crucial components of "gender-just" peace. The first notion, *recognition*, draws attention to the ways in which TJ discourses and practices work to acknowledge, or alternatively exclude, particular subjects (e.g. victims and perpetrators) and objects (e.g. crimes of SGBV) of justice. It is deployed in this study to consider whether and how women impacted by enforced disappearances and wartime sexual violence are appropriately acknowledged and esteemed, or alternatively ignored or disparaged, in post-war justice processes. The second element, *redistribution*, focuses on structural injustices and the (mis)allocation of material resources within society. It is used in this book to explore whether and how TJ institutions and mechanisms address structural inequalities that prevent survivors of these crimes from participating as peers in post-war society. The third notion, *representation*, highlights the importance of ensuring the participation and representation of women and of SGBV survivors in TJ processes, to enable their experiences of victimisation and/or discrimination to be voiced and redressed. This element is deployed to consider whether and how rules and procedures are established to ensure that women and SGBV survivors are meaningfully included in institutions and mechanisms of post-war justice. Fraser's three-dimensional model is deployed throughout this study to critique the dominant conceptualisations of justice outlined by official actors involved in the formulation and implementation of TJ strategies and mechanisms. Her framework is also utilised to interrogate the conflicting visions of gender justice articulated by women activists in BiH. Fraser's model enables us to conceive of the individual and collective struggles of activists to achieve gender justice in BiH as struggles firstly, *for* a form of justice that encompasses values such as dignity, respect, and social esteem; and secondly, *against* injustices such as social stigma, discrimination, and inequalities of power, resources, and social standing.

Conceptualising Gendered Agency

In part, the disappointing record of international intervention in (post-) conflict contexts can be traced to problematic conceptualisations of "gender justice" and "gendered agency". Dominant discourses on peace frequently depict women in essentialist terms—as powerless victims of violence, or as "natural" peacebuilding agents. These essentialist stereotypes homogenise women's experiences of (in)justice and (in)security, and fail to capture the multiple modes of agency that women foster and deploy in war and peace. To confront these challenges, the book develops an innovative theoretical framework for understanding gendered agency in war and peace. I draw on relational understandings of autonomy within feminist moral philosophy (e.g. Mackenzie and Stoljar 2000, Nedelsky 1989, Sherwin 1998), and incorporate a feminist post-structuralist framework (e.g. Wibben 2011), to understand how gendered agency emerges, is enabled and/or constrained in relation to peacebuilding interventions. This framework stresses that agency is not an innate characteristic of individuals, but is instead inherently social in nature (Mackenzie 2008). Agency entails the capacity to critically reflect upon one's desires, choices, and situation, and to take appropriate decisions and actions (Friedman 2003). However, this capacity for agency is shaped by the agent's temporal and socio-cultural context (Meyers 2000a, b), by the web of relations in which she is embedded (Benhabib 1992), as well as by power-laden discourses which structure social relations and individual subjectivities (Allen 2008, Showden 2011). This framework enables scholars, practitioners, and activists to overcome essentialist depictions of women either as passive victims of war, or as superheroic figures of peacebuilding projects (Shepherd 2011). It views women as gendered agents who demonstrate the ability to foster and deploy different modes of agency—in varying degrees and within different temporal, relational, and institutional contexts.

Analysing Gender Justice and Gendered Agency: Methodology and Methods

To examine how gendered agency emerges in relation to "official" discourses and practices of TJ in Bosnia, a two-pronged qualitative approach was adopted in this study. An initial discourse analysis was undertaken to highlight the official discourse surrounding TJ. Next, I examined how

individual women negotiate and make sense of this discourse, using in-depth interviews and participant observation to explore their understandings, experiences, and views of TJ.

Stage One: Discourse Analysis of TJ Policies and Practices

The first stage was to establish how official discourse on TJ was characterised and presented to victims and survivors of wartime violence, particularly women, and their representatives. This was achieved through a discourse analysis of principal policy documents, reports, and statements on TJ—as produced by key actors involved in the formulation and implementation of TJ strategies and mechanisms in Bosnia. Actors engaged in post-war justice processes in Bosnia span international, state, entity[27] as well as local levels.[28] They include

1. judicial institutions such as the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), the War Crimes Chamber at the State Court of BiH, and local courts within the Federation of BiH (FBiH), Republika Srpska (RS), and Brčko District;
2. domestic institutions such as the BiH Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees which have responsibility for TJ issues at the state level, and BiH Missing Persons Institute (MPI), which is responsible for addressing the issue of missing persons, and for ensuring the protection, cataloguing, and proper excavation of mass grave sites;
3. UN agencies, notably the UN Development Programme (UNDP) which between July 2009 and December 2012 provided support to BiH government in developing a National Strategy on TJ, and the UN Population Fund (UNFPA) which provided technical and financial support to the Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees for the development of the *Programme for Victims of Wartime Rape, Sexual Violence and Torture and Their Families in BiH 2013–16*; and
4. other international bodies including the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which supports the outreach activities of the BiH judiciary, organises TJ forums, and supports civil society organisations engaged in TJ initiatives; and the International Commission for Missing Persons (ICMP), which is mandated to ensure regional and local authorities cooperate in locating and identifying

those who disappeared during armed conflict or as a result of human rights violations, and who are also involved in capacity-building projects with associations of families of missing persons.

The large number of actors involved in promoting and implementing TJ mechanisms, the sharing of responsibility between international, state, entity, and local levels, and the lack of an overarching strategy or programme at the state level for "dealing with the past" means that it is impossible to identify a singular "official" discourse or narrative on TJ as encapsulated in a single policy document, strategy, or report. Since official discourse is dispersed across a wide range of sources, my first task was to identify the key texts on which my discourse analysis could be based. Before, during, and after fieldwork conducted in Bosnia between 2011 and 2016, I collected various examples of TJ discourse from both "official" and "unofficial" sources. Much of the material I draw on comes from the observations I undertook at various sites, as well as the conversations I participated in during interviews and observed over the course of my fieldwork. Many people suggested readings to me in formal and informal conversations, whilst other texts were referenced at events I attended—these became part of the material I chose to analyse. I have selected materials to provide coverage of both retributive and restorative justice mechanisms, international and local institutions, and materials relating to the specific gender justice issues of wartime sexual violence and missing persons. Together, these texts articulate competing discourses on TJ (e.g. as retributive, or restorative) and construct power-laden subject positions for women, victims, and survivors to take up, negotiate and/or subvert.

I also supplemented my documentary analysis by carrying out interviews with 38 key informants from international, regional, or local organisations who were either involved in promoting and/or implementing various mechanisms of TJ (e.g. as advisers, practitioners, donors etc.) within BiH. These interviews generated rich and detailed information on how international, national, entity, and local level actors were engaging in processes of dealing with the past. The interviews also elicited a range of perspectives on the main benefits, shortcomings, and challenges involved in promoting and/or implementing various justice mechanisms, and indeed what "peace" and "justice" mean in the context of post-war BiH.

Stage Two: The Views of Victims, Survivors, and Their Representatives

The second stage of research entailed gathering, through several stages of fieldwork, empirical data on Bosnian women's experiences of TJ from the perspectives of women themselves. A combination of in-depth interviews and participant observation of TJ events—including local commemorations, public dialogues, roundtables, and outreach events organised by both international and domestic actors—were deployed to explore women's understandings, experiences, and views of TJ.

Narrative Interviews

Between 2011 and 2016, I undertook a total of 16 months' fieldwork in BiH, interviewing over 100 activists from war survivors' associations and women's/feminist advocacy organisations situated in cities, towns, and villages across BiH. This study is a qualitative research project, which focuses on the lived experiences and diverse perspectives of Bosnian women on the issue of "dealing with the past". Through this research, the aim has been:

> Making the invisible visible, bringing the margin to the center, rendering the trivial important, putting the spotlight on women as competent actors, understanding women as subjects in their own right … (Shulamit Reinharz, quoted in Tickner 2006: 25)

Several of the places in which interviews were conducted were the focus of ICTY outreach activities. Others had recently hosted public consultations on the draft *Programme for Victims of Wartime Rape, Sexual Violence and Torture and Their Families in BiH 2013–16*, and ICMP consultations on memorialising the missing. My interview sample covers activists from urban and rural/semi-rural areas. It also covers locations where widely publicised incidences of wartime violence had occurred[29] and other settings where cases of wartime violence are less well known.[30] Moreover, I also included individuals representing a range of ages, walks, and stages of life, religious/ethnic identity, relationship status, and socio-economic position. Whilst some interviewees were able to derive salaries (however small) from their work, others were campaigning on a voluntary basis. And, whilst some were engaged in activism on a full-time basis, others did so part-time, in their spare time, or on an ad hoc basis. Whilst diverse, the

views expressed in interviews are not comprehensively representative of all the interests and views of all Bosnian women, or even of politically active women in BiH; however, my study is not intended to be representative. Instead I included activists from a variety of organisations within what I conceptualise as a "gender justice movement" in BiH, using purposive sampling (including informant referrals and snowball techniques) to recruit activists for individual interviews.

I conducted partial life history interviews with activists in order to elicit stories about participants' experiences of activism and their encounters with TJ policies and practices. Narratives were invited with an initial open-ended question such as, "Can you tell me about your struggles as a *survivor of the war* to achieve post-war justice?", or "Can you tell me about your struggles as a *feminist activist* to achieve post-war justice for women victims and survivors of the war?", in order to draw out a partial life story around this theme. Throughout, I employed a narrative interview technique, by conducting lightly structured, in-depth interviews characterised by storytelling rather than a question-answer format in order to reveal the perspective of the interviewee by enabling them to use their own words and narrate their lives following a self-generating schema.[31] This interview strategy enabled me to explore how participants "make sense of events and actions in their lives", to examine each of their stories with a focus on "how it is put together, the linguistic and cultural resources it draws on, and how it persuades a listener of authenticity" (Riessman 1993: 2). My goal was to understand women's self-authored accounts of violence, justice, and political activism. The stories produced were diverse in terms of the themes raised by participants; the narrative structure adopted (e.g. whether the story was temporally or thematically ordered); the meanings, interpretations, and evaluations articulate of concepts such as justice, truth, reparation, memorialisation, and peace; and the positioning of the storyteller, listeners, and other characters (e.g. peacebuilding actors, BiH governance institutions, other women victims, and survivors) in each story.[32]

Observation of Post-war Justice Events

Like Cohn's (2006) work on national security in the US, the objects of my study—official discourses of TJ and related institutional structures, in addition to the moments of agency and resistance that are articulated in to relation these—are both mobile and multi-sited. They require multiple

methods to draw out the perceptions, experiences, knowledges, and attitudes of the actors involved, and to examine how TJ policies and practices "are deeply shaped, limited, and distorted by gender" (Cohn 2006: 92). TJ policies and practices, like those of national security, are created, implemented, promoted, and critiqued by complex and diverse social organisations—including universities, governments, international organisations, civil society groups, think tanks, and the media—and the discourses that are drawn upon to conceptualise and legitimise them vary greatly throughout these locations (Ibid.: 94). Consequently, my study also draws on data gathered via observation of a number of public events. Some events provided opportunities for me to observe how TJ "experts" (academics, policymakers, legal practitioners, therapists etc.) were publicly engaging with victims, survivors, and their representatives on a spectrum of TJ issues, whilst others gave me important insights into how victims, survivors, and their representatives, many of whom are participants in my study, are engaging in collective forms of activism that articulate claims for recognition, for redistribution and for political voice. I was able to observe some of the activities and discourses deployed by women advocating around TJ issues, and the responses they engendered from "experts", as well as to listen to discourses on the role of victims, survivors, and of women generally in TJ processes.

These events provided the opportunity to analyse the *mobilising structures and strategies* (McAdam et al. 1996) through which campaigns for gender justice are expressed, as well as the *frames of meaning* (Benford and Snow 2000) that movement actors employ to negotiate and articulate shared understandings of their grievances, to construct collective identities and bonds of solidarity between activists, and to justify and therefore make possible forms of collective action aimed at achieving social and political change (Goodwin et al. 2001; Buechler 1995). Moreover, they enabled me to explore the *interactions* that take place between activists from the "gender justice movement", their targets (e.g. TJ policymakers and practitioners at the international, state, entity, and local levels), and observers (particularly the media).

A Note on Terminology

Throughout this study, I note the ethnic identity of informants where this is relevant to the discussion. I understand that doing so is contentious since ethnic categories are not objective labels of reality but are

instead social constructs that work to (re)inscribe rather than merely describe difference. The boundaries of ethnic identity in Bosnia, as in other contexts, are not fixed but instead change over time. Individuals often experience attempts by others to label them with a certain ethnic identity in which they may or may not invest, and they may think of themselves as having multiple identities which become relevant in different contexts. Many in Bosnia were born into "mixed marriages" with parents from different ethnic groups, and choose to identify with one group more than/instead of another, or choose to describe themselves as "others" rather than identify with one of Bosnia's three "constituent peoples" (Bosniak or Bosnian Muslim, Bosnian Croat, and Bosnian Serb). There is a danger therefore that using these terms fails to recognise the fluidity of identity, and the heterogeneity of group members. However, processes of ethnic identification are important for understanding the conflict and post-conflict context of Bosnia. Ethnic categories are used in this study to contextualise the responses, thoughts and feelings of participants, and to help evaluate official strategies of dealing with the past and the real or perceived inequalities of justice that arise.

Structure of the Book

Chapter 2 situates the study within its historical context, providing a (necessarily) brief overview of conflict and peacebuilding in BiH, and a short account of women's activism in the region of the former Yugoslavia. I highlight that the activism being undertaken by women working firstly within associations of missing and killed persons, secondly within associations comprising former camp detainees and survivors of wartime rape and torture, and thirdly within women's/feminist advocacy groups can be understood in terms of a nascent *gender justice movement*. Victims, survivors, and their representatives have mobilised to expose the gendered impact of TJ mechanisms, to foreground women's experiences as victims and survivors and as subjects of justice, and to spotlight the gendered forms of subordination and inequality that are being forged, shaped, and reproduced.

Chapter 3 then sets out the theoretical framework for the study. The first section unpacks the notion of *gender justice*, examining the significance

of Nancy Fraser's tripartite model of justice as recognition, redistribution, and representation/voice as a powerful theoretical framework for understanding and appraising gender justice initiatives in (post-)conflict contexts. The second section outlines an innovative theoretical framework for understanding *gendered agency* in war and peace. This framework draws on relational understandings of autonomy within feminist moral philosophy, and incorporates a feminist post-structuralist framework, to understand how gendered agency emerges, is enabled and/or constrained in relation to peacebuilding interventions.

Chapter 4, the first of my empirical chapters, examines important policy documents, reports, and statements from key actors and institutions charged with "dealing with the past" in BiH. Interpreting TJ as a set of interventions aimed at governing trauma, I explore how Bosnia's transition from past violence to future reconciliation is narrated in "official" discourses. I also highlight the material practices that emerge from this story. Firstly, I focus on the issue of wartime rape and sexual violence. I examine how war crimes prosecutions at the ICTY are communicated as a helpful mechanism of dealing with this legacy. This is achieved via a discourse analysis of ICTY documentary film, *Sexual Violence and the Triumph of Justice*, which was screened at ICTY Outreach events in BiH. I highlight that whilst the documentary highlights the important role survivors play in criminal trials, ICTY discourse largely works to reproduce rather than contest stereotypical notions of rape survivors as helpless and passive victims of war. Secondly, I focus on the issue of missing persons. I explore how the process of locating, recovering, and identifying missing persons is represented as a reliable and effective method of dealing with the legacy of wartime disappearances, through an analysis of ICMP's publication *Locating and Identifying Missing Persons: A Guide for Families in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. I reveal that ICMP constitutes families of the missing as agential subjects, opening up potential for women to take up active roles in seeking truth, justice, and redress. Finally, I deploy Fraser's framework to explore the gaps and inequalities of existing justice provision in relation to both missing persons and wartime sexual violence. I outline a number of failings which trouble the international community's triumphant narrative of progress regarding justice for survivors.

Against this background, Chap. 5 explores how gendered agency emerges, is fostered, and deployed in response to the issue of wartime rape and sexual violence. The chapter explores women's responses to criminal justice processes, highlighting how survivors of wartime sexual violence, and their representatives, articulate their own positions on justice by adopting and adapting official discourse to make it meaningful within the context of their own lives and experiences. Resisting their depiction as passive victims, they have taken up active roles in these processes, in spite of the challenges and dangers involved. Others have weighed up the potential risks and rewards and have decided not to testify in the absence of adequate witness protection and support. I highlight how women have responded agentially to the inadequacies of retributive and restorative justice processes, and examine how activists have engaged in alternative justice practices, with particular reference to the recent truth-telling initiative, the Women's Court for the Former Yugoslavia.

Chapter 6 then examines the development and deployment of gendered agency in relation to the issue of missing persons. The chapter notes that in spite of the devastating impact of wartime disappearances, women demonstrate remarkable courage and fortitude in searching for their loved ones, and in taking up new roles and identities in the post-conflict period. I highlight different modes of agency which have emerged in relation to this issue. The chapter highlights women's experiences of "ambiguous loss" (Boss 2004) and "complicated grief" (Blaauw and Lähteenmäki 2002) resulting from their inability to bury their loved ones and mourn their loss. Yet it also spotlights how women demonstrate incredible resilience, and remarkable capacity to cope with and work through their trauma and grief.

Finally, Chap. 7 draws together key conclusions from this study, and outlines a series of propositions for constructing gender-just forms of peace. Bosnia is often viewed as a testing ground for international intervention, and lessons learned from the Bosnian context are often drawn on to direct policymaking and programming in other conflicted and post-conflict countries (e.g. Kosovo, Iraq, and Afghanistan). The propositions set out in this concluding chapter place emphasis on lessons learned from the specific context of BiH. However, wider conclusions are drawn for other (post)conflict zones which present a significant challenge to orthodox and critical approaches to Peace & Conflict Studies, and to peacebuilding in practice.

Notes

1. I deploy the term SGBV to denote "gendered and sexualised forms of harm experienced by women and men in armed conflict", while recognising that "women experience wartime violence in ways particular to them as women" (Buss 2011: 413). These modes of violence—including rape and sex-selective massacres—(re)produce gender roles, identities, and hierarchies of power (see Carpenter 2006).
2. When armed conflict erupted in Croatia (1991) and then Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992), investigations were undertaken by human rights NGOs Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, as well as by the UN Security Council appointed Commission of Experts (headed by Cherif Bassiouni), the UN Commission on Human Rights appointed Special Rapporteur (Tadeusz Mazowiecki), and the European Community Investigative Mission (led by Dame Anne Warburton).
3. Article 2 of the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (ICCPED) defines enforced disappearance as "the arrest, detention, abduction or any other form of deprivation of liberty by agents of the State or by persons or groups of persons acting with the authorization, support or acquiescence of the State, followed by a refusal to acknowledge the deprivation of liberty or by concealment of the fate or whereabouts of the disappeared person, which place such a person outside the protection of the law." Available at http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/disappearance-convention.pdf (last accessed on 26 March 2017).
4. The term "harms", following O'Rourke (2013: 19) denotes women's lived experiences of war and political violence, and is differentiated from legal categories of criminal offences and human rights violations.
5. See in particular: Ni Aolain and Turner (2007) on truth-telling; Rubio-Marin (2009a, b, c, d) on reparations; and O'Rourke (2013) on institutional reform.
6. At the time of writing, a further seven WPS resolutions had been adopted by UN Security Council: UNSCR 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122, and 2242.
7. For details of the evolution of UNSCR 1325 and its implementation at national, regional, and international levels see Barnes (2011).
8. These include the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) and ad hoc Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda; the development of National Action Plans (NAPs) and UN monitoring mechanisms on UNSCR 1325; the appointment of a Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General (SRSG) on Sexual Violence in Conflict; the

deployment of Women Protection Advisors within UN peacekeeping missions; the establishment of a Team of Experts on the Rule of Law and Sexual Violence in Conflict; and the launch in 2014 of an International Protocol on the Documentation and Investigation of Sexual Violence in Conflict.

9. I outline the notion of the "liberal peace" as conceptualised in UN policy documents and scholarly literature, and explore current critiques later in this chapter.
10. For a discussion of the potential of traumatic memory to undermine political authority, and attempts by political elites to depoliticise, discipline, and/or subjugate its recall and transmission by witnesses and survivors, see Edkins (2003), especially pp. 5–19.
11. The UN defines TJ as encompassing "the full range of processes and mechanisms associated with a society's attempts to come to terms with a legacy of large-scale past abuses, in order to ensure accountability, serve justice and achieve reconciliation. These may include both judicial and non-judicial mechanisms, with differing levels of international involvement (or none at all) …" See United Nations Security Council, *S/2004/616,* "The rule of law and TJ in conflict and post-conflict societies" (2004), p. 4.
12. Bosnia and Herzegovina is referred to hereafter as Bosnia or BiH.
13. There is extensive literature on the politics of pursuing justice oriented towards recognition versus redistribution. See in particular works by Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth: Fraser (1997), (2000), (2003), (2005), (2008); Fraser and Honneth (2003); Honneth (1992), (1995), (2003), (2004). This study draws on Fraser's tripartite model of justice as recognition, redistribution, and representation/voice, as I outline in Chap. 3.
14. As Suhrke (2007: 1292) points out, the increasing standardisation of post-conflict reconstruction programmes reflects the cumulative experience of peacebuilding agents, often codified as "lessons learnt", "best practices", and guiding principles.
15. As liberal peacebuilding focuses on the (re)construction of states to (re) build sustainable peace in post-conflict zones, the terms "statebuilding", "peacebuilding", and "reconstruction" are used interchangeably throughout this study.
16. For fuller details of these developments see Richmond (2002), (2005).
17. These practical developments were mirrored by developments in peace and conflict theory. On "top-down" peacebuilding please see for example Chesterman et al. (2005); Chopra (1998); Dobbins et al. (2003a, b); Fukuyama (2004b), (2006); Zartman (1995). On "grassroots" peacebuilding and conflict transformation approaches please see Lederach (1997).

18. As Mac Ginty (2006: 22–33) highlights, major peacebuilding actors include: leading states (the US and its allies), international organisations (e.g. the EU, NATO, OSCE), national development agencies (e.g. USAID), international NGOs and major international financial institutions or IFIs (e.g. World Bank and IMF).
19. For an extensive analysis of post-conflict reconstruction in Bosnia see special issue of *International Peacekeeping,* Vol.12, No.3, 2005; for an overview of debates on the liberal peace project in general see *Global Society,* Vol. 21, No.4, 2007.
20. Paris (2002: 637–638) asserts that modern peacebuilders have internalised the belief that the liberal model of domestic governance is "superior" to all others—he interprets the transmission of standards of "appropriate" behaviour from the Western-liberal core of the international system to the periphery as a modern rendering of the "mission civilisatrice" whereby European colonial powers believed they had a duty to "civilise" dependent populations and territories.
21. For an overview of these critiques see in particular: Richmond (2010a); Newman et al. (2009).
22. Following Hooper (1998: 31), I use the concept of "masculinism" to signify "the ideology that justifies and naturalizes gender hierarchy by not questioning the elevation of ways of being and knowing associated with men and masculinity over those associated with women and feminism".
23. Epistemic violence refers to (neo)colonial forms of domination, engendered through practices of knowing, interpreting, and speaking, that divest (post-)colonial subjects of both subjectivity and agency. Scholars of South-East Europe have noted that "Balkanist" stereotypes have been discursively deployed by the West to frame and prompt/block international intervention in the region—for example, Todorova (1997); Bakic-Hayden (1995). These representations were gendered as well as racialised. Thus, victims of wartime rape in Bosnia were commonly portrayed during the war as "bodies in pain" (Kesić 2002: 311)—stripped of agency, infantilised and depicted as objects needing rescuing by the international community (Hansen 2001).
24. Structural violence is distinguished from direct/overt violence (e.g. rape, battery, murder), and refers to indirect but equally vicious forms of violence (e.g. inadequate healthcare, sexual harassment) resulting from the existence of structures of political, economic, and socio-cultural inequality, subordination, and oppression. Cultural violence encompasses the cultural beliefs, attitudes, and practices that legitimate the perpetration of direct and structural violence. The distinction between direct, structural, and cultural violence was drawn by Galtung (1990), (1971). Each form of violence is linked to political, economic, and social structures of power that

discriminate against women and/or condone physical, sexual, and psychological violence against women (see e.g. Mazurana and McKay 2001).

25. I draw here on Butler's (1999, 2004a, b) notion of "normative violence" which she uses firstly to describe the "mundane" or everyday forms of violence instantiated by particular norms or ideals that govern gender; and secondly to problematise ways in which normative gender presumptions work to differentially construct some lives as (un)livable and (un) grievable.
26. Please refer to Chap. 3 of this study for my conceptualisation of gendered agency and resistance post-conflict.
27. Bosnia is comprised of two administrative "entities"—Republika Srpska and the Federation of BiH.
28. The Federation of BiH is divided into ten cantons (which in turn are subdivided into municipalities) while Republika Srpska is directly divided into municipalities.
29. For example, the siege of Sarajevo, the 1995 massacre at Srebrenica, the detention camps set up in and around Prijedor, and incidences of wartime rape and sexual violence committed in towns such as Foča and Višegrad.
30. For example, sexual violence committed in Central Bosnia and the Neretva valley, disappearances in and around Banja Luka, Goražde and Kotor Varoš, and the detention settings in the vicinity of Vogošća and Hadžići. On differences in the visibility of violence across BiH, please see Impunity Watch (2012), p. 65.
31. This narrative interview technique draws on Bauer (1996).
32. My feminist approach to interviewing is inspired by Oakley's classic *Interviewing Women,* in which she rejected traditional positivist interview techniques that demand that interviewers be objective, rational, and detached, as "morally indefensible" when interviewing women (1981: 41). I am also indebted to the work of Maria Stern (2005), who conducted partial life interviews with Mayan women in Guatemala in order to (re) conceptualise the insecurity these women were experiencing.

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CHAPTER 2

Contextualising Gendered Agency in War and Peace: Gender Justice and Women's Activism in Historical Perspective

Introduction

War and post-war peacebuilding interventions in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) provide the context within which gender justice initiatives emerged. This chapter situates women's activism around gender justice issues within this historical context, highlighting in particular the gender dynamics of war-fighting and peacebuilding. The chapter provides a brief overview of conflict and peacebuilding in BiH and offers a concise account of women's activism in the region of the former Yugoslavia. It begins by examining the social-political situation in socialist Yugoslavia, drawing attention to the status of women and of (ethno-)national groups in the socialist era. Then, it provides a brief historical overview of the circumstances surrounding the collapse of Yugoslavia, the emergence of nationalism, and the outbreak of war in Bosnia. I draw attention to the mutually constitutive relationship between nationalism and gender as social constructions and highlight the gendered logic of wartime violence and its impact on women. Next, the chapter highlights the successes and failures of "top-down" peacebuilding implemented in BiH from a feminist perspective. I draw attention to the gender biases of international peacebuilding in this post-conflict setting, before examining in subsequent chapters the extent to which gender justice has been achieved in Bosnia. Thereafter, I provide a brief history of the emergence and development of feminism and of women's activism in the region, highlighting the various

M. O'Reilly, *Gendered Agency in War and Peace*, Rethinking Peace and Conflict Studies, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-352-00145-7_2

mobilising structures that have emerged across time, which provided models through which women organised themselves both during and after the Bosnian war. Finally, the chapter posits that the activism being undertaken by women within survivors' organisations, and women's/feminist advocacy groups, constitutes a nascent gender justice movement which has been working to contest the gendered logic and impact of transitional justice (TJ) mechanisms in BiH.

Background: Gender, War, and Peacebuilding in BiH

The Politics of Gender and Ethnicity in Socialist Yugoslavia

The 1992–95 war in BiH was rooted in the fall of Communism and the ethno-nationalist break-up of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY)[1] following economic and political crises in the country.[2] As a non-aligned state, Yugoslavia existed for over 40 years as a federation of six republics—Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia—plus two autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina. Bosnia was noted internationally as a model of multicultural coexistence. It was home to a number of nations, nationalities, ethnic groups, and religions who had coexisted peacefully since the birth of socialist Yugoslavia after World War II, with substantial efforts made to foster unity through the slogan "brotherhood and unity", to guarantee the collective rights of ethnic groups and minorities, and to enshrine the principle of multi-ethnicity and equality of all nations and nationalities through power-sharing between the federation and its republics (Stanovčić 1992; Pajić 1994: 62).

Commitments to both gender and national equality were enshrined in socialist Yugoslavia's Constitution, with special legislation and social policies developed to promote equality among Yugoslavia's constituent nations (*narodi*), nationalities (*narodnosti*), and national minorities (*nacionalne manjine*), as well as between women and men (Djurić-Kuzmanović et al. 2008: 266–267). The socialist state granted women the right to own and inherit property; guaranteed equal rights in matters of marriage, divorce, and custody of children; bestowed equal access to education and employment, as well as equal pay; provided maternity and childcare benefits; and adopted liberal family planning laws granting citizens the right to decide on the number and spacing of children (Denich 1974, 1977; Drezgić 2010; Jancar-Webster 1990; Morokvasić 1986; Ramet 1999; Woodward 1985). Women were granted full suffrage in 1946, and their

political participation was formally promoted through reserved seats in federal and regional parliaments (Borić 2005: 38).[3] Socialist ideology promoted the view that women's subordination was rooted in exploitative class relations and the exclusion of women from "socially productive" (e.g. wage earning) work which left them reliant on the earnings of their husbands or male relatives. By overthrowing the capitalist class system, and incorporating women into paid employment, it was argued that women's emancipation would be achieved (Molyneux 1981).

Yet, whilst significant advances were made towards achieving gender equality in socialist Yugoslavia, there was "a great gap between the ideals proclaimed and the actual condition of women" (Morokvasic 1986: 121). Women were dramatically under-represented in official politics (Ramet 1999: 102),[4] and made up only 33% of the labour force by the late 1970s (Woodward 1985: 245). They experienced discrimination in employment (Einhorn 1993: 268; Woodward 1985),[5] were employed largely in low-wage industries, at lower professional levels, and rarely held public offices (Kesić 2002: 72).[6] Furthermore, women in paid employment were generally expected to work a "second shift" of unremunerated domestic work in the home (Massey et al. 1995). Socialism largely failed to challenge the gendered division of productive/reproductive labour, or gender relations within the family (Djurić-Kuzmanović et al. 2008: 268). Although significant advances were made towards achieving gender equality, the roles and status of women remained highly constrained by a patriarchal tradition which was largely uncontested by the socialist regime (Mlinarević et al. 2012: 99). Visions of "peace" and "justice" that imagine that women should return to this "normal" *status quo ante* are highly problematic, in that they assume that women will put their hopes, interests, and needs aside and take on subordinate positions in the post-war polity, economy, and society (McKay 1998).

The Rise of Nationalism and Fall of Socialism in Yugoslavia

Women's social and political status was dealt a severe blow by the rise of nationalism, the fall of socialism, and break-up of the Yugoslav state. In the late 1980s, Yugoslavia underwent a period of acute political and economic crisis. Economic problems—including rising foreign debt, austerity measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and growing inequalities of wealth and development between federal republics—combined with increasing domestic political instability as disagreements

mounted over economic reform and growing calls for republics to be granted either independence or increased powers within the federation (Woodward 1995). The first multi-party elections were held in 1990 in each Yugoslav republic, resulting in resounding victories for ethno-nationalist political parties.[7] State socialism became replaced with what Mostov (2002: 89) has termed "ethnocracy"—a form of democracy whereby political power was:

> … concentrated in the hands of leaders successful in promoting themselves as uniquely qualified to define and defend the (ethno)national interests, and in which the ruled are collective bodies defined by common culture, history religion, myths and presumed descent.

These exclusivist forms of nationalism stood in stark contrast to Yugoslav nationalism which had united many nations and nationalities (Milić 1993: 110). Rather than seeking to accommodate and bridge difference, nationalist leaders advocated separatism and secessionism, focusing their agendas on the construction of "ethnically pure" (Bracewell 1996: 26) territories, nations, and nation-states. This led not only to the violent secession of Slovenia, Croatia, and then Bosnia through war, but also to the "literal excision of undesired others from the body politic" (Denich 1994: 368) through practices of "ethnic cleansing" and, in the case of Srebrenica, of genocide.

In the Republic of BiH (RBiH), three nationalist parties—the Party of Democratic Action (SDA), Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), and Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), which claimed to represent three main ethnic groups (Bosnian Muslims or Bosniaks,[8] Croats, and Serbs, respectively)[9]—won all seats in the Presidency, and majorities in the House of Representatives (75%) and House of Peoples (95%) (Nohlen and Stöver 2010: 330). Increasingly bitter disputes over "the political fate of the republic" led to "the collapse of the consociation mechanisms … meant to ensure the institutional cohesiveness of Bosnia" (Xavier Bougarel, quoted in Mlinarević et al. 2012: 93). The SDA leaders advocated Bosnia's independence should Croatia and Slovenia secede, and argued in favour of a unitary state. The SDS proposed that Bosnia either remain within Yugoslavia or else be partitioned with territories claimed by Serbs being incorporated into a Greater Serbia. HDZ supported Bosnia's independence, but also had plans for the secession of predominantly Croat territory in Herzegovina and union with Croatia at a later date (Burg and

Shoup 1999: Chap. 3). The failure to achieve a successful resolution of this dispute led ultimately to the outbreak of war in Bosnia, following a contested referendum on independence held in March 1992. Sporadic fighting developed into outright war, involving not only the newly independent Bosnia but also Serbia and Croatia who provided military, financial, and political support.

The Gendered Impact and Logic of War in BiH

The build-up and outbreak of conflict was marked by the mobilisation of ethno-national identities to attract support and to spread fear and insecurity (Oberschall 2000). The manipulation of gender roles and identities was also crucial. As Papić (1994: 13) notes, nationalist parties in the region were "male dominated, overtly patriarchal, traditional, and conservative regarding the position of women, their social role and significance". Nationalist discourses constructed women in subordinate roles as symbols of the nation, guardians of children, and markers of national identity and honour (Bracewell 1996; Drakulić 1993; Mostov 2002). Men in contrast were represented in virile, heroic, and militarised terms as warriors and saviours of the nation (Mostov 2002). The gendered logic of war (re) produced multiple, interconnected forms and degrees of violence.

Rape and sexual violence against women and girls was widespread—all warring factions committed these crimes, yet the majority of victims were identified as Bosnian Muslim, and perpetrators Bosnian Serb, with Serb forces found to have deployed rape systematically as a tool of "ethnic cleansing". Five main patterns of wartime rape and sexual assault were contemporaneously identified by a UN fact-finding body, the Commission of Experts, as having been perpetrated by all sides, regardless of the ethnicity of perpetrator or victim. In the first pattern, rapes were committed by individuals or by small groups, in conjunction with looting and intimidation of the target ethnic group, before fighting broke out in a locality. The second pattern involved rapes occurring in conjunction with widespread or generalised fighting, with the invasion and capture of towns and villages. In the third pattern, rape and sexual assault were committed against women held in detention. Gang rapes were common, and were frequently accompanied by beatings and torture. Male detainees were also subjected to sexual assault, generally in public, as well as other forms of torture. In the fourth pattern, rapes were perpetrated in so-called rape-camps where women were detained

specifically for the purpose of rape and sexual assault. Some of these camps were large and well organised; others consisted of houses or cafes. In the fifth pattern, women were detained in hotels and other places that were established solely for the purpose of rape and sexual assault for the sexual gratification of perpetrators.[10]

Men, on the other hand, represent the vast majority of those killed and/or missing in the BiH conflict. 87% of persons unaccounted for post-conflict were men mostly of military age (ICMP 2014). Around 100,000 people were killed,[11] of which approximately 31,500 people were reported missing (ICMP 2014: 11) and presumed dead. The majority of disappearances are alleged to have occurred in the context of "ethnic cleansing" which took place in a number of waves: (a) between April and September 1992 in eastern Bosnia, in the context of military attacks and "ethnic cleansing" operations by Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and Serb paramilitary forces against Bosnian Muslims; (b) in Bosnian Krajina between May and August 1992, in a similar context of "ethnic cleansing" operations by Bosnian Serb forces against non-Serbs; (c) in Herzegovina, during the summers of 1992 (predominantly of Bosnian Muslims and Croats by Bosnian Serb forces) and of 1993 (mainly of Bosnian Muslims by Bosnian Croat forces); and (d) in July 1995 with the fall of UN-declared "safe havens" Srebrenica and Žepa and the arbitrary executions and mass killings of Bosnian Muslims by Bosnian Serb forces.[12]

Peace and Justice in Post-Conflict BiH: A Feminist Critique

War officially ended with the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords (DPA) in 1995. This incorporated all aspects of a traditional peace agreement, and also included the BiH Constitution and expansive remits for international organisations to reconstruct the BiH state (Cousens and Cater 2001: 33). Peace negotiations provided an opportunity for democracy, citizenship, and peace to be "reimagined" in gender-just ways (Cousens and Cater 2001: 104). However, both the process of negotiating the DPA and the eventual outcome were highly problematic. Women and gender issues were largely excluded from peace negotiations (Ibid.: 150). A "gender-blind" peace agreement emerged that focused on narrowly defined security issues and failed to include pro-active measures to address the conflict's gendered legacy (Chinkin and Paradine 2001; Lithander 2000). The DPA recognised Bosnia's majority ethnic groups—Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs—as "constituent peoples" and established power-sharing

mechanisms and veto powers in key decision-making bodies (Belloni 2004: 336). This reinforced the primacy of ethnicity over other identities, including gender (Deiana 2013). BiH was divided into two "entities"––Republika Srpska (RS) and the Federation of BiH—plus Brčko District. The entities were granted their own political institutions, and are united by minimal common institutions (Paris 2004: 99). This left BiH with a weak central government beset by deadlock, crises, and separatist agendas (Richmond and Franks 2009). The consociational and confederal paradigm the DPA established means that political power is dispersed nationally and locally across ethnic lines: between the two entities, across 10 Federation cantons, 149 municipalities, and Brčko District (Cox 2001: 6). Ethnic quotas secured representation of Bosnia's three main ethnic groups at all levels of government and in the state-wide public administration (Belloni 2004: 336). Each ethnic group was also afforded the right to veto decisions perceived as being "destructive of a vital interest" (Belloni 2004: 336). War issues remain fiercely politicised, with nationalists seeking to profit from the harms and injustices sustained by survivors (Mlinarević et al. 2015).

Many scholars are critical of the international community's approach to post-conflict reconstruction,[13] noting that a self-sustaining peace has yet to emerge (Richmond and Franks 2009). The failures of liberal peacebuilding are largely attributable to the shortcomings of Dayton, a settlement described as "a terrible peace to end a terrible war" (Denitch 1996: postscript). Peacebuilding efforts have been hindered by the fact that Dayton did not settle the identity of the Bosnian state, the very issue that was the subject of the war (Dobbins et al. 2003: 90–91; Bose 2002: 3). International democratisation policies have failed to create a democratic culture, or to achieve domestic governmental autonomy and accountability (Richmond and Franks 2009: 28; Caplan 2005: 463–468; Caplan 2004; Chandler 1999: 96; Bose 2002). Instead of supplanting militant ethno-nationalism with pluralism, democratisation has actually reinforced the "societal schisms that fuelled fighting in the first place" (Paris 2004: 96–97). Economic liberalisation policies have largely failed to generate jobs and achieve economic security. Many Bosnian citizens are struggling with high rates of poverty and unemployment (World Bank 2009: 1 and 19), whilst vulnerable sectors of society cannot access adequate levels of social protection (OSCE 2012). In contrast, the privatisation of state assets allowed war entrepreneurs to achieve a profit and enjoy the "spoils of peace" (Pugh 2002; see also Pugh 2005; Donais 2002). Overall, liberal

peacebuilding has been criticised for having provided only a "virtual form of liberal peace" in which the causes of conflict remain largely unresolved (Richmond and Franks 2009).

Gender issues were not included in the mandates of actors engaged in peace implementation (Hasanbegović and Trbonja 2009: 7). Scant attention was paid to women's rights, unequal status, and precarious future (Domi 2002: 38). The differential impact of the conflict on women was inadequately addressed, and the priorities of conflict-affected women largely overlooked (Lithander 2000). Where action did occur, it focused mainly on addressing women's "practical" needs rather than "strategic" interests (Walsh 1998: 330 and 338). Following their exclusion from formal peace negotiations that settled their country's future, women found themselves politically, economically, and socially marginalised in the post-conflict period. Women in post-war Bosnia do not enjoy full and equal participation in post-war political life, and are significantly under-represented in legislative, executive, and judicial bodies (Petrić 2010: 6). They experience unequal access to the labour market, a gender pay gap, discriminatory employment practices, and an unequal distribution of labour within the family (Somun-Krupalija 2011). Finally, gender-based violence remains widespread in the private sphere (Filipović-Hadžiabdić 2013; see also Ćopić 2004; Muftić and Bouffard 2008).[14] A narrow gendered vision of peace has relegated women to subordinate positions within the post-war polity, economy, and society (Cockburn 2001). Power and resources were redistributed (both materially and symbolically) in a manner that was far from gender-just.

Addressing the Legacy of Wartime Rape and Sexual Violence: Criminal Trials

Judicial mechanisms were initially tasked with "dealing with the past" in BiH. Prosecutions of international crimes have taken place at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and across BiH—at the state level within the War Crimes Chamber (WCC) of the State Court of BiH, and local courts across the Federation, RS, and Brčko District. War crimes trials remain the predominant approach to dealing with Bosnia's legacy of wartime rape and sexual violence, and are presented by the ICTY as a "triumph of justice" and as essential for establishing accountability and ending impunity.[15] Criminal trials have created opportunities for some survivors to achieve public recognition of their

suffering, bring “closure”, confront perpetrators, honour the memory of those who suffered similar atrocities, and ultimately see perpetrators held accountable (Mertus 2004: 111–112). Notably, important steps were taken to secure witness testimony, particularly from survivors of sexual violence, through support and protection measures that have enabled their recognition and representation.[16] However, as I outline in detail in Chap. 4, there remain significant gaps and deficiencies which preclude just recognition, redistribution, and representation for many survivors. For example, there have been relatively few prosecutions for sexual violence offences in comparison with their prevalence during the war. Furthermore, retributive justice is criticised for producing lenient sentences and inadequate codification under domestic criminal legislation which contributes towards impunity (TRIAL 2015). Concerns have also been raised regarding the adequacy of witness protection and support.[17] War crimes trials have failed to acknowledge harms incurred by many victims, satisfy their demands for material and symbolic reparations and provide a public platform to voice their experiences.[18] It is against this background that women at grassroots level are undertaking vital work, to campaign for survivors’ rights to justice, truth, and reparations to be upheld.

Dealing with the Legacy of Missing Persons: Locating and Identifying the Disappeared

Multiple agencies and institutions, both international and domestic, are also involved in locating, recovering, and identifying those who disappeared in wartime.[19] Annex 7 of the Dayton Peace Agreement required that the former warring parties fully cooperate with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in its efforts to determine the identities, whereabouts, and fate of missing persons, and provide information on all persons unaccounted for using ICRC tracing mechanisms.[20] ICRC accepts tracing requests from families of missing persons, which it forwards to relevant institutions.[21] The International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP) has played a key role since its establishment in 1996. ICMP works to secure the cooperation of governments and other authorities in locating and identifying missing persons, and provides technical assistance in the exhumation and identification of mortal remains.[22] Early identifications were conducted through traditional forensic methods, using information such as age, size, clothing, or personal items. A DNA-led process is now in place, with DNA extracted from victims’ bone

samples and compared with the DNA profiles of surviving relatives.[23] A state-level Missing Persons Institute (MPI), which was established in 2005 and became operational in 2008, was tasked with resolving the fate of missing persons across BiH.[24] MPI replaced the separate entity-level commissions that previously existed, and is intended to "provide BiH with a sustainable mechanism to address the issue of persons missing … regardless of their ethnic, religious or national origin".[25] However, as later chapters outline, although significant progress has been made in locating and identifying missing persons, just recognition, redistribution, and representation have not been achieved from the perspective of many surviving relatives. Against a backdrop of political obstructionism, distrust, technological advances, and their limitations, women active within associations of families of missing persons are lobbying to achieve truth, justice, and reparations for relatives of the disappeared.

Women's Activism in Historical Perspective

Women's Activism in Socialist Yugoslavia

Women's activism in the former Yugoslavia has a long history (Benderly 1997a: 60). The "first wave" of Yugoslav feminism emerged in the 1890s, and focused on improving women's legal position and education, including the right to vote (Benderly 1997b: 185). During World War II, two million women were involved in the Anti-Fascist Front of Women (*AFŽ*), established by the Yugoslav Communist Party to fight against fascist occupation (Milić 1993: 111; Jancar 1985: 205). One hundred thousand women fought in the People's Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia, struggling for not only national liberation, but also a transformation in traditional gender roles (Milić 1993: 111; Jancar 1985: 205). Due to the contributions made by women as "soldiers of the revolution" (Mirjana Poček-Matić, quoted in Morokvasić 1986: 124), the socialist state of Yugoslavia, established in 1945, committed itself to gender equality (Ramet 1999: 94). However, women's activism was curtailed and co-opted by the socialist state, as it strived to exert and bolster control over the population (Drakulić 1993: 128). The AFŽ was fragmented in 1950 into a number of small, unrelated "women's actives" (official socialist women's organisations), and subsequently disbanded in 1953 (Sklevicky 2013: 103–106). Spontaneous grassroots activism was prohibited (Drakulić 1993: 127). Nevertheless, "women's actives" continued to operate,

enabling women, particularly in rural areas and small towns, to engage in humanitarian work and in aspects of local politics (Bagić 2006: 144).

A "second wave" of feminist activism emerged in the 1970s with the growth of the "neo-feminist" movement in Belgrade, Ljubljana, and Zagreb, as a generation of young feminists began to challenge the official view that "the woman question" had been solved in socialist Yugoslavia (Jancar 1988). This activism evolved largely from these three urban centres; however, individuals from Sarajevo and Skopje, and other parts of Yugoslavia, were also active in the movement (Bagić 2006: 144). These activists developed critiques of the socialist one-party state and, later, the rise of nationalism in the region, spotlighting the patriarchal nature of political policies and practices, as well as their impact on women (Benderly 1997b: 183–209). From 1978 onwards, they began to write newspaper articles and organise public discussions on feminist/gender issues, they established the first SOS hotlines and shelters for victims of domestic violence, and they created new feminist, women's, and LGBTQ groups and organisations in the region (Drakulić 1993: 128). Feminist claims for autonomy and increased rights were among the first signals of increased demands for democratisation and liberalisation (Kesić 2002: 74). Many of the activists who were involved in this "second wave" of activism remained active and organised throughout the war years (Mlinarević et al. 2012: 102), and remain committed to women's organising whether as leaders or supporters of feminist groups in the region (Bagić 2006: 144).

Women's Activism in Response to Nationalism and War

As nationalist politics grew in the 1980s and 1990s, many Yugoslav feminist activists focused their energies on challenging attempts to curtail women's hard-fought rights and freedoms, and on contesting attempts by nationalist leaders to subordinate women and to manipulate gender roles and identities in the service of the nation (Benderly 1997a). They forged and maintained solidarity among women across national/ethnic/religious lines, and represented "a small beacon of opposition to nationalism" in contrast to many other movements which had become nationally-oriented (Benderly 1997a: 70). Women across the region formed anti-war organisations, called for peaceful and negotiated solutions, organised peace demonstrations, provided critiques of nationalist media propaganda, and campaigned for demobilisation (Mladjenović 2003: 41). After war erupted in Croatia and then in Bosnia, feminist anti-war groups created centres for

survivors of wartime violence and support groups for refugee women in major cities and some towns across the region (Djurić-Kuzmanović et al. 2008: 272). They worked with women refugees and survivors of wartime violence, providing humanitarian assistance (food and clothing), legal advice, and psycho-social support, and establishing multi-ethnic self-help groups for exiled women (Korač 2006: 514).[26] In doing so, they began the "gradual and often painful process of (re)establishing respect and trust in the 'other' side of [the] ethnic divide", and "created spaces for mutual understanding and ongoing productive exchange" (Korač 2006: 514–515).

Women's organising achieved several positive results. The news that rape and sexual violence were being perpetrated on a massive and systematic scale led to protests and forced the issue onto the international agenda (Djurić-Kuzmanović et al. 2008: 274). Several fact-finding missions were deployed by the international community to investigate reports of human rights abuses, and the ICTY was subsequently established to prosecute perpetrators of war crimes, including crimes of rape and sexual violence (Harbour 2016). However, war and nationalist politics also provoked "internal tensions, crisis, and separation within and among … women's groups".[27] As wars escalated in Croatia and then Bosnia, some of the women who had protested against the draft became co-opted by nationalist governments (Benderly 1997a: 63).[28] Others argued that they could not engage in anti-nationalist and anti-war politics while "their nation" was threatened (Korač 1998a: 172). Meanwhile, feminists who maintained a firm anti-nationalist stance were attacked in the media, and some were denounced as "witches" and "traitors" of their respective nations (Korač 2006: 516; see also Kesić 1999).

A split emerged between so-called "nationalist" and "anti-nationalist" (Benderly 1997a) feminist groups in the region. As Benderly (1997a: 71) argues, "[t]hose who conflated 'women as victim' and 'nation as victim' moved toward a sort of feminist nationalism, the patriotism of the victimized." The issue of wartime rape was particularly divisive. A "numbers game" was played––between international organisations, human rights groups, and governments in the region—regarding its magnitude and character (Benderly 1997a: 65). Feminist groups disagreed over how to describe the character of wartime sexual violence (Helms 2013: 59–64). "Nationalist" feminist groups interpreted rape as a tool of *genocide* deployed by Serbian men against Bosniak and Croat women (Benderly 1997a). "Anti-nationalist" feminists instead focused

on rape as a *gender crime* and a weapon of war committed against women of all nationalities (Benderly 1997a). They argued that viewing rape through a nationalist lens created damaging "hierarchies of victims" (Kašić 2002: 190), with national collectivities competing for the acknowledgement of their nations as the "most victimised ones" (Kašić 2002: 203). Any notion of "sisterhood in rape" or other forms of gender-based violence could therefore not be assumed (Žarkov 2007: 185); an outcome which hampers initiatives intended to deal with the past even now. In spite of these tensions and conflicts, activists have persisted, during and after the war, in organising across ethnic/national divides, confronting national/nationalistic boundaries, and creating and sustaining both new and old forms of solidarity and dialogue (Kašić 2002: 199). However, as Korač highlights, the destructive nature of the wars in Bosnia and Croatia, and the myriad forms of victimisation experienced by women as members of ethnic/national groups, were frequently too painful to share, thus jeopardising the construction and maintenance of relations of solidarity among women (Korač 1998b: 36).

Informal efforts by women at grassroots level to rebuild a peace that challenges rather than reaffirms gender forms of injustice and inequality are ongoing. Cockburn (2002), for example, has studied seven civil associations across BiH who have organised locally as women, for women, on women's/gender issues. These associations have focused on enabling women to achieve economic independence, combatting gender-based violence, providing legal advice, contesting women's marginalisation in politics, and confronting inter-ethnic enmity in their divided country (2002: 71–76). By challenging patriarchal structures, confronting polarised and essentialised identity constructions, and working across ethnic/national divides, they have engaged in bottom-up practices of "peace formation" (Richmond 2016) which may pave the way for a more emancipatory form of peace to emerge. However, due to Bosnia's deeply challenging post-war context—characterised by unresolved conflict (over identity and socio-economic resources), sharply contested state- and nation-building processes, and complex legacies of violence and injustice—more exclusionary forms of agency and resistance have emerged which often work to reinforce rather than overcome structures of domination and subordination. Women's activism around such divisive issues of sexual violence in conflict and missing persons has, unsurprisingly, not been immune to these dynamics. Many activists are firmly committed to addressing legacies of conflict through dialogue and cooperation, by promoting relations of empathy,

care, and respect, and by challenging ethno-nationalist narratives. Others articulate claims to justice through a discourse of "ethnic victimhood" which reinforces conservative gender norms and stereotypes and bolsters narratives of ethnic difference (Helms 2013: 5).

Post-war Campaigns for Gender Justice: The Gender Justice Movement in BiH

It is against this background of war and post-conflict peacebuilding that a *gender justice movement* has emerged in BiH. This movement comprises associations of families of missing and killed persons, some of whom are motherist/widowist groups;[29] survivors' associations comprising former camp detainees, survivors of torture, and individuals who were subjected to wartime rape and sexual violence; and women's/feminist advocacy non-governmental organisations (NGOs) who are campaigning for gender justice on behalf of other women. As this book highlights, these organisations are undertaking vital work to address complex legacies of wartime sexual violence and missing persons, and are campaigning for survivors' rights to justice, truth, and reparations to be upheld. Through their engagement in activism around gender justice issues, many activists are mobilising *as* mothers, widows, women, victims, and/or survivors, therefore politicising these very terms. Individual and collective campaigns by victims, survivors, and feminist advocates have worked to highlight the gendered logic and impact of TJ mechanisms, particularly the barriers preventing women from seeking redress for injustices committed against them. These activists have sought to articulate women's experiences as victims and survivors of wartime violence and as subjects of TJ. They have also worked to illustrate how gendered relations of power and inequality are being constructed, maintained, and reproduced in the aftermath of war. Together they represent what I conceptualise as a nascent *gender justice movement* in BiH, a significant component of the wider *TJ social movement* that is currently engaged in activism within this post-conflict society.[30]

Why should this activism be conceptualised as a social movement? Social movements have been defined by Mario Diani (2000: 156) as "networks of informal interaction between a plurality of individuals, groups, and/or organisations, engaged in a political and/or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity". They consist of collective action by networks of actors mobilised around common issues or goals, and

entail the employment of non-institutional forms of protest to transgress, challenge, or defend existing structures of authority and power (Snow et al. 2008). Although organised at the grassroots level, campaigns by social movements generally occur "in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities" (Tarrow 1998: 4). Social movements function as pressure groups on behalf of individuals excluded from dominant structures of power and decision-making processes, and are crucial actors in bringing about social and political change (Taylor 2000: 220). The activism being undertaken around gender justice issues reflects the four common characteristics of social movements outlined by Della Porta and Diani (1999: 16). Social movements are in their view:

(i) *Informal interaction networks* between a plurality of individuals, groups, and/or organisations, based upon
(ii) *Shared beliefs* and a sense of *solidarity*, factors upon which a collective identity can be constructed, which undertake collective action focused upon
(iii) *Conflictual issues*, aimed to promote or oppose social change either at the systemic or at non-systemic level, through
(iv) Frequent use of *protest*

First, activism is being performed by formal and informal networks of victims and survivors of wartime violence, and NGOs sympathetic to their cause. These actors have also forged strategic links and alliances with international organisations such as the UN Population Fund (UNFPA),[31] European Union, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Mission to BiH,[32] international human rights NGOs including Amnesty International (AI)[33] and TRIAL International (TRIAL),[34] and film directors such as Jasmila Žbanić,[35] amongst others.

Second, these activists appear to share the conviction that national and international authorities have failed to provide a convincing model of peace and justice for victims and survivors of wartime violence. This does not imply that they are united by a shared diagnosis of the shortcomings of TJ mechanisms, a shared prescription for overcoming these failings, or a common vision of post-war peace and justice. As Helms notes, activists possess diverging views regarding the nature of violence, the role of gender, the best ways to help survivors, and indeed the very meaning of justice and whether it should be sought on an individual or collective basis (Helms 2010: 249; see also Helms 2013). Likewise, whilst there may be feelings

of solidarity between members of particular victims' associations and advocacy organisations, divisions also exist between organisations, with the leaders of the Association of Women Victims of War and the Women's Section of the Association of Concentration Camp Victims, for example, contesting who should have the authority to speak on behalf of survivors of wartime rape and whose voice provides an authentic representation of survivors' views.[36] Nevertheless, what connects these activists is a shared aim of achieving a more sophisticated form of justice than that which is currently being implemented in Bosnia[37]—one that, for example, allows the harms incurred by victims and survivors to be acknowledged, enables survivors to tell their stories, addresses demands for material and symbolic reparations, and/or allows survivors to reclaim dignity and agency, and thereby come to terms with painful pasts.

Third, activists are currently contesting dominant gender justice discourses and practices in BiH, as they pursue a more complex form of justice that addresses their demands for recognition, redistribution, and political voice. This strategy involves both allying themselves with *and* challenging existing voices of authority on justice issues in BiH, for example, by employing the arguments of TJ experts to push for criminal prosecutions, improved access to justice and adequate reparations, while simultaneously challenging what they view as inadequate policies and practices in order to alter dominant understandings of "peace" and "justice" and to change the kinds of gender justice mechanisms that are being implemented in BiH.[38]

Fourth, actors within the *gender justice movement* in BiH have adopted a mix of traditional tactics (e.g. lobbying[39]) and unconventional forms of protest (e.g. demonstrations[40]) to articulate their demands. Memories of wartime experiences have emerged as "collective action frames" through which individuals and groups within this social movement attempt to negotiate and articulate shared understandings of the injustice they are suffering, outline a diagnosis of who or what is to blame, articulate solutions, and mobilise others to act collectively to bring about social and political change (Benford and Snow 2000).[41] Gendered agency and resistance is often articulated in subtle and nuanced ways, both within and beyond encounters with TJ policymakers and practitioners. TJ policies and practices tend to encourage or compel women—as victims, as survivors, as witnesses, as women, as feminists, as activists—to think and behave in specific ways that, for example, are regarded as "beneficial", "useful", "healthy", "natural", or even "necessary" for enabling individual women and the wider population

to overcome trauma, achieve justice, rebuild a peaceful post-war polity, economy, and society in ways that are deemed to prevent a relapse into violence. In their struggles for justice, some activists have developed an "oppositional consciousness" (Sandoval 2000) that is directed towards the international community and/or local political elites, actors who have so far failed to provide survivors with satisfactory forms of justice and peace in response to the violence and harms of the 1992–95 conflict.

Conclusion

This chapter has cast a feminist lens over the experience of conflict and peacebuilding in Bosnia, and has situated BiH women's activism around post-war justice issues within its historical and regional context. The connections between gender, ethnicity, and nation/state-building processes were outlined. The analysis focused on how armed conflict and peacebuilding processes construct and reproduce dominant masculine and subordinate feminine identities—with significant implications for the nature and quality of peace reconstructed in the aftermath of war. Although the post-conflict environment provides opportunities to deconstruct unequal gender roles, identities, and structures of power, it is argued that international peacebuilding practices have failed to adequately contest, and indeed often exacerbate, gendered (and ethnicised) inequalities of power. This has undermined the potential for positive peace to emerge in BiH. Furthermore, the chapter also provided a brief overview of women's activism in historical and regional context, and illustrated how and why a gender justice movement has emerged in post-war BiH. Chapters 5 and 6 will explore in depth the agential responses, strategies, and activities of activists campaigning for gender justice in BiH. The next chapter provides a theoretical framework for understanding gendered agency in war and peace, and fleshes out the meaning of gender justice as it is applied throughout this study.

Notes

1. Referred to hereafter as SFRY or Yugoslavia.
2. For an overview of debates regarding the causes of Yugoslavia's dissolution, see Cohen and Dragović-Soso (2008). On the war in Bosnia, see, for example, Silber and Little (1996); Woodward (1995).
3. Thirty per cent of seats in each institution were reserved for women.

4. Ramet (1999: 102) notes that as late as 1986, women accounted for only 15.6% of deputies to the Federal Assembly, 19.3% of deputies to the Assemblies of the Socialist Republics, 24.4% of deputies to the Assemblies of the autonomous provinces, and 17.1% of deputies to communal assemblies.
5. Einhorn (1993: 268) notes that a gendered organisation of work characterised all socialist societies, with women being paid less for undertaking comparable work.
6. Ramet (1999: 97) notes that women were drastically under-represented in some professions such as court judges, journalists, administrators, and professors.
7. I use the terms “ethnic nationalism” or “ethno-nationalism” to refer to a form of nationalism centred upon the *ethnie* or ethnic community as constructed through “a myth of common ancestry, shared memories, and cultural elements, a link with an historic territory or homeland and a measure of solidarity” (Smith 1993: 49).
8. The name “Bosniak” (“Bošnjak” in local languages) is used to designate Bosnian Muslims; “Bosnian” (“Bosanac”) refers to all inhabitants of BiH.
9. These parties are named *Stranka demokratske akcije* (SDA), *Hrvatska demokratska zajednica* (HDZ), and *Srpska Demokratska Stranka* (SDS) in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian languages.
10. United Nations Security Council, *Final report of the United Nations Commission of Experts established pursuant to security council resolution 780 (1992) Annex IX: Rape and Sexual assault, Appendix 2,* UN Doc. S/1994/674/Add.2 (Vol. V), 28 December 1994.
11. The exact number of war-related deaths is unknown. The Sarajevo-based Research and Documentation Centre (RDC) has produced a database of 96,895 victims, classified by age, gender, ethnicity, and status, and is generally regarded as the most accurate. The RDC data indicates that 57,523 of the total were soldiers and 39,684 civilians, 89% of victims were men and 10% were women. Mirsad Tokača, Research and Documentation Centre, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, April 2011.
12. Report by Mr Manfred Nowak, Expert Member of the WGEID, *Special Process on Missing Persons in the territory of the former Yugoslavia,* Doc. E/CN.4/1997/55, 15 January 1997, paras. 99–106.
13. For a comprehensive overview of debates see special issue of *International Peacekeeping,* Vol. 12, No. 3, 2005.
14. A recent survey on the prevalence of violence against women in BiH by Filipović-Hadžiabdić (2013) highlights that 47% of Bosnian women had experienced violence in their lifetime, 12% within the previous 12 months. Intimate partner violence is a particular problem with 75% of violent acts perpetrated by current or former partners.
15. See my analysis of ICTY discourse in Chap. 4.

16. See in particular Rules 34(A), 69, 75, and 96 of the ICTY's Rules of Procedure and Evidence, available at http://www.icty.org/.
17. This view was expressed at the TRIAL and ICTY public roundtable I attended on 17 May 2012, through presentations made by representatives of local Prosecutor's Offices.
18. This view was expressed by many interviewees I spoke to throughout my fieldwork.
19. For a detailed historical overview of the emergence of domestic and international institutions working on the issue of missing persons in BiH, see Juhl (2009).
20. Annex 7, Dayton Peace Agreement; available at http://www.ohr.int/dpa/default.asp?content_id=375 (last accessed 10 January 2014).
21. Information on the ICRC's role in Bosnia is available at http://familylinks.icrc.org/bosnia/en/Pages/background-information.aspx (last accessed 30 January 2014).
22. ICMP, *Fact Sheet*, Sarajevo: 2013; available at http://www.ic-mp.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/icmp-cos-58-10-doc-fact-sheet.pdf (accessed 22 January 2014).
23. This process was explained by ICMP staff during my visit to ICMP Headquarters in July 2011 with a delegation of students from Srebrenica Summer Research University. An overview of the process of identifying remains, including early efforts, see: ICMP (2014), pp. 49–91.
24. MPI was co-founded by BiH Council of Ministers and ICMP and was established under Article 7 of the BiH Law on Missing Persons. English translation is available at http://www.ic-mp.org/icmp-worldwide/south-east-europe/ (accessed 22 January 2014).
25. Statement obtained from ICMP website: http://www.ic-mp.org/icmp-worldwide/southeast-europe/bosnia-and-herzegovina (accessed 22 January 2014).
26. Examples include the Autonomous Women's Centre and Women in Black (both in Belgrade), the Centre for Women War Victims in Zagreb, and Medica Women's Therapy Centre in Zenica, BiH.
27. Korač (1998a), p. 172.
28. Many mothers in Croatia who opposed their sons being drafted into the JNA did not protest when they were drafted into the Croatian Defense Forces.
29. I employ the terms "motherist" and "widowist" to highlight the socially constructed (rather than essentialist) nature of "motherhood" and "widowhood" and the fact that these activists are embracing and enacting politicised identities *as* mothers and *as* widows in their efforts to bring about social and political change. As Radcliffe and Westwood (1993: 18) point out, motherist strategies are often "predicated upon overcoming the

public/private divide as it impresses upon women's lives... [bringing] mothers in their domestic clothes to the centre of the public stage".

30. In the Bosnian context a variety of actors within civil society have undertaken campaigns for TJ. These include organisations such as the Research and Documentations Center (RDC) in Sarajevo (which has compiled a comprehensive database on victims and atrocities as part of the "Population Losses 1992–1995" project); associations of families of missing persons; war veteran associations; civilian victims of war associations; associations of former camp detainees and prisoners of war; Center for Nonviolent Action (which organised public forums with war veterans in different towns in BiH); as well as individual intellectuals, journalists, and civil society activists who generate public debate on TJ issues (e.g. journalists from the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network, academics at the Center for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies of the University of Sarajevo, documentary-makers such as XY films). These actors interact with a variety of local, national, and international institutions engaged with "dealing with the past" in Bosnia.
31. UNFPA provided financial and technical support for the development of the *Programme for Victims of Wartime Rape, Sexual Violence and Torture and their Families in BiH 2013–16*. Women's NGOs including the Foundation for Local Democracy, Vive Žene, and Snaga Žene participated in the consultation process as examples of "best practice".
32. The Tuzla-based NGO Vive Žene, for example, which provides psychosocial support to witnesses/victims testifying in war crimes trials, has received financial support from the OSCE. Vive Žene have also received funding from the EU (2015–17) to implement the project "Ensuring access to Justice for Witness/Victims through strengthening existing and establishing new Witness Support Networks across BiH".
33. AI and a coalition of local women's NGOs have jointly campaigned in support of survivors of sexual violence, highlighting the inadequacies of current TJ mechanisms and the failure of authorities to satisfactorily respond to survivors' ongoing psychological, social, and health concerns. See Amnesty International (2009).
34. I highlight TRIAL's role in gender justice initiatives in Chap. 5.
35. Director of several films examining the continuing impact of the 1992–95 war on Bosnian society. These include the documentary film *Red Rubber Boots* (2000), which portrays a woman searching for her husband and two children who were abducted by the Serbian army during the war, and the feature films *Grbavica* (2006), which explores the struggles of Sarajevo resident Esma to cope with the aftermath of wartime rape, and *On the Path* (2010) which touches upon the increasing

influence of Islam in post-war BiH. The film *Grbavica* featured members from the Women's Section of Concentration Camp Survivors Canton Sarajevo.

36. In October 2010, public divisions appeared between these groups following rumours that Angelina Jolie's film *In the Land of Blood and Honey* would portray a love affair between a Bosnian Serb rapist and Bosniak rape victim. See: Helms (2013), pp. 216–219. See also: Beaumont (2010); Subasic (2010).
37. These campaigns resonate with recent UN rhetoric on gender and TJ. Ban Ki-Moon (2010: paragraph 48), for example, "call[ed] on all actors to ensure that minimum standards of gender-responsiveness are established for truth commissions, reparations programs and related bodies". Likewise, UNIFEM (2010) recently published recommendations on how this "gender-sensitive" TJ agenda might be implemented.
38. An excellent example of this was the campaign, "For the dignity of Survivors", which achieved official recognition of survivors of wartime rape as civilian victims of war and secured for survivors an increased level of social protection and material security. Please see Chap. 5 and Husic (2008).
39. For example, a submission made by TRIAL and 11 NGOs from BiH to the UN Committee Against Torture reported the failure of BiH authorities to provide access to justice and reparation to the victims of torture, rape, sexual violence and enforced disappearance and their families. See TRIAL (2010), p. 68.
40. The Mothers of Srebrenica organisation, for example, hold monthly demonstrations in Tuzla, carrying pillowcases embroidered with names of missing and killed men through the town to demand truth and justice. The Association Women Victims of War have also held demonstrations outside courts to demand truth and justice, and have organised events in Eastern Bosnia to commemorate victims of wartime sexual violence and other human rights violations.
41. I draw here from Benford and Snow's (2000) work on collective action frames. They describe "collective action frames" as "action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization ..." (2000: 624).

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CHAPTER 3

Gender Justice in Transition: Gendered Agency in War and Peace

Introduction

This book explores the efforts of women activists to achieve gender justice in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). It spotlights the diverse ways in which gendered agency, and at times resistance, is expressed in this post-conflict context, with a particular focus on how activists respond to the gendered legacies of wartime sexual violence and missing persons. At the heart of this study is an exploration: firstly, of the meaning of gender justice in post-war settings such as BiH; and, secondly, of how to conceptualise gendered agency in BiH and other peacebuilding contexts. As will be shown, the various forms of agency demonstrated by women in post-conflict settings such as BiH often challenge conventional understandings of the relationship between gender, war, and peacebuilding, and specifically of how women engage with transitional justice (TJ) processes.

This chapter presents the theoretical framework which I deploy in subsequent empirical chapters to explore activists' struggles to reclaim agency in the aftermath of violent conflict, in ways that reiterate or transgress dominant understandings of justice in this post-conflict setting. This framework is designed to address two significant challenges relating to understanding the intersection between gender, justice, and agency in peacebuilding contexts. The first concerns how to conceptualise *gender justice* in the aftermath of armed conflict. This is a significant challenge, since any conceptualisation will define the specific harms in need

M. O'Reilly, *Gendered Agency in War and Peace*, Rethinking Peace and Conflict Studies, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-352-00145-7_3

of remedy, the practices required to render justice, and will also include/exclude certain actors as subjects of (in)justice (Campbell 2017: 153). The second challenge involves how to define and theorise the nature of *gendered agency* in (post-)conflict contexts. This involves taking into account the impact of war-related violence, oppressive social norms, and unequal positions of power on activists' abilities to act upon and affect the world. It also entails simultaneously recognising the capacities of activists to make difficult choices and undertake courageous acts, in challenging circumstances.

In response to the first challenge, this book extends Nancy Fraser's tripartite model of justice to peacebuilding contexts, and foregrounds notions of recognition, redistribution, and representation as crucial components of "gender-just" peace. This framework helps to expose the multiple, long-term and inter-connected harms that flow from sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) in wartime (Urban Walker 2009: 22–31), allowing a fuller appreciation of the destructive impact of war-related violence on the lives of victims and survivors. It also offers a powerful theoretical lens to interrogate competing visions of justice being articulated within sites of international peace and security interventions. To address the second challenge, this study draws on relational understandings of autonomy within feminist moral philosophy (e.g. Mackenzie and Stoljar 2000b; Nedelsky 1989; Sherwin 1998) to understand how agency emerges and is deployed by activists in BiH. This framework understands agency as the capacity to critically reflect upon one's desires, goals, choices, and situation and to take appropriate decisions and actions This capacity is shaped by an agent's temporal and socio-cultural context as well as the web of relations in which she is embedded. Furthermore, I incorporate a feminist post-structuralist framework, highlighting the importance of discourse, subjectivity, social processes, and institutions to understanding power relations and strategies for achieving change (Weedon 1997: 40). I spotlight the ways in which power-laden discourses structure social relations and individual subjectivity, in order to "accommodate both the power of social constraints and the capacity [of individuals] to act situatedly against them" (Fraser 1992: 17). In doing so, I view women as simultaneously agents and subjects of power. They demonstrate "a complex and ambiguous agency in which women accept, accommodate, ignore, resist, or protest – sometimes all at the same time" (Arlene Elowe McLeod, cited in Gardiner 1995: 4).

Conceptualising Gender Justice: Recognition, Redistribution, and Representation

> *... justice requires social arrangements that permit all to participate as peers in social life. ... [O]vercoming injustice means dismantling institutionalized obstacles that prevent some people from participating on a par with others, as full partners in social interaction.* (Fraser 2008: 60)

The transition from war to peace is often regarded as a unique "window of opportunity" to pursue gender justice (Valji 2010). By challenging political, socio-economic, and cultural inequalities, rather than restoring the problematic *status quo ante*, TJ processes may provide opportunities to unsettle rather than reinforce pre-existing gender hierarchies and norms (Rubio-Marín and de Greiff 2007: 325). These processes can confront underlying structural inequalities that preceded, contributed to, and frequently persist post-conflict (Durbach and Chappell 2014: 548; Rubio-Marín 2009b: 117), enabling gender-just forms of peace to be (re)built. Feminist scholars note that post-conflict gender justice requires providing an adequate conceptualisation of the harms that are in need of remedy, and the design and implementation of appropriate procedures and practices of rendering justice (Campbell 2007). It involves efforts to challenge and overcome inequalities of access, power, opportunities, and rights that are frequently endured by women *as* women in transitional contexts (Rubio-Marín and de Greiff 2007: 321, Note 11). The particular mechanisms that are put in place must be context-sensitive and must also attend to the intersections between gender and other power-laden social structures such as ethnicity/race, class, sexuality, (dis)ability, and so on (Durbach and Chappell 2014: 548; Leatherman 2011: 67) through which status disparities are constructed yet potentially transformed. Visions of gender justice are also "integrally tied" to broader, bottom-up campaigns to promote women's human rights, and to a praxis of solidarity across difference (Reilly 2007: 157). They place women at the centre of TJ discourses and practices—as victims and survivors but crucially also agents of post-war justice and peacebuilding processes (Ní Aoláin 2012).

Notwithstanding these valuable insights, the notion of gender justice in relation to war and peace is inadequately theorised in current literature, and is variously deployed to describe a wide array of practices ranging from achieving full and equal participation of women in justice institutions,[1] to targeted remedies for addressing gender-based harms.[2] In my

view, Nancy Fraser's trivalent model of justice offers a highly promising theoretical framework for conceptualising and evaluating gender justice policies and practices in BiH and other (post)conflict settings. Fraser's model provides principles, concepts, and strategies that are crucial for the design and implementation of effective post-war gender justice initiatives—enabling scholars and practitioners to identify, address, and potentially transform the gendered structures of inequality that enable violence and discrimination to materialise before, during, and after conflict.

For Fraser (2008: 16), justice should be understood as "parity of participation", and entails the construction of "social arrangements that permit all to participate as peers in social life". Participatory parity, she argues, depends on two conditions: firstly, the "objective condition" of a distribution of material resources that ensures "participants' independence and voice"; and secondly, the "intersubjective condition" of "institutionalised patterns of cultural value [which] express equal respect … and ensure equal opportunity for achieving social esteem" (Fraser 2003: 36). Fraser then identifies three inter-connected forms of injustice, which represent "institutionalised obstacles that prevent some people from participating … as full partners in social interaction" (Ibid.). The first is *cultural/symbolic injustice*, which springs from negative forms of social representation, non-recognition, and disrespect of particular individuals and groups (Fraser 1997: 14). The second is *socio-economic injustice*, resulting from the maldistribution of material resources due to the "political-economic structure of society" and includes forms of exploitation, economic marginalisation, and deprivation (Fraser 1997: 13; see also Lai 2016). The third is *participatory or representational injustice*, which is rooted in political marginalisation and the exclusion of specific individuals and groups from decision-making processes and institutions (Fraser 2005: 7).

Recognition, Redistribution, and Representation: Understanding and Responding to SGBV in Conflict

When translated to post-conflict contexts, Fraser's notion of gender justice as recognition requires challenging the "status subordination" affecting many survivors of wartime violence (Fraser 2003: 50). TJ mechanisms can (re)affirm survivors' dignity and equal status in society, by acknowledging the harms they incurred and recognising their identity as citizens and rights-holders (Duggan and Jacobson 2009: 138). Gender justice also entails challenging structural inequalities, redistributing wealth

and resources, and ensuring women's participation in economic production on equitable terms (Fraser 1997: 15). Post-war reparations schemes can be particularly important mechanisms in this regard. By providing measures of restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction, and guarantees of non-repetition, reparations programmes have the potential to "unsettle pre-existing gender hierarchies and undo the structural harms that may … be causal to … violence and harm experienced during a conflict" (Ní Aoláin et al. 2011; cited in Durbach and Chappell 2014: 548). Finally, gender justice entails ensuring that women's voices, experiences, interests, and concerns are foregrounded in decision-making on justice policies and programmes, through meaningful forms of participation and representation (Fraser 2005: 7, 2008: 14). Ensuring that survivors of gender violence and their representatives are fully engaged not only enables effective mechanisms and procedures of rendering justice to be designed and implemented, but also (re)affirms survivors' status as key actors in TJ processes (Rubio-Marín 2009b: 16–17). By placing the notion of gender justice as recognition, redistribution, and representation/voice at the centre of post-war justice processes and mechanisms, TJ institutions can avoid "reinforc[ing] pre-existing patterns of gender-based discrimination, but rather strive to transform them" (OHCHR and UN Women 2014: 5).

Both sexual violence in conflict and wartime disappearances can be viewed as both product and productive of all three forms of inequality highlighted by Fraser.[3] Regarding *cultural/symbolic inequality*, sexual violence is often enabled by gendered (and racialised/ethnicised) narratives that mark women's bodies as territory to be "protected" by men of their "own side", and attacked and conquered by the "enemy" (Korač 2006: 513). Rape may be misrecognised as an unfortunate "by-product" of war rather than a serious human rights violation in need of redress (Buss 2009). Furthermore, social stigma is often wrongly ascribed to survivors of sexual violence (rather than to perpetrators) due to gender-biased social/cultural values and norms that diminish their social status (Askin 2001). Forcible disappearances in wartime, meanwhile, (re)produce "mutually exclusive relations of sociality" (Jugo and Wastell 2015: 146). Demonising and dehumanising forms of cultural interpretation and evaluation enable "the abandoning of enemy bodies to spaces beyond legality" whereby perpetrators "not only deny life but … even confirmation of death" (Robins 2013: 4–5). Furthermore, the presence of androcentric patterns of cultural value that privilege masculinity and devalue femininity (Fraser 2007) may result in female relatives of missing persons losing social

status and experiencing harassment and social isolation (Dewhirst and Kapur 2015).

Concerning *socio-economic injustice*, structural inequalities enable and exacerbate SGBV. Rape and sexual violence is often perpetrated to extract material resources or "compensate" soldiers otherwise excluded from economic spoils of war, and is enabled by gendered structures of economic disempowerment which render women vulnerable to attack (True 2012: 121–122). The gendered economic structure of society creates particular challenges for female relatives of persons missing/killed in conflict, who are likely to suffer injustices of economic maldistribution. Having been forced by circumstances of disappearance to take up the traditionally masculine role of head-of-household and enter the workforce (perhaps for the first time), women who have lost loved ones in wartime often face poverty, discrimination, and exploitation (Dewhirst and Kapur 2015: 6).

Regarding *participatory or representational injustice*, gender inequality in political, economic, and social life is associated with higher levels of armed conflict within a state (Melander 2005; Caprioli 2005). Sexual violence is often deployed to (re)inforce a hierarchical gender order and to (re)assert dominance over ethnic (and other) minorities (Davies and True 2015). Survivors of wartime violence may also be unable to participate in TJ institutions and peacebuilding processes, for example due to their devalued identities; compromised capacity to advance justice claims; and barriers presented by institutional structures (Stanley 2009: 48).

In response to these three forms of injustice, Fraser advocates three intersecting types of remedies. Firstly, she promotes *recognition* through positively "revaluing disrespected identities and the cultural products of maligned groups", "recognizing and positively valorizing cultural diversity", and transforming "societal patterns of representation, interpretation and communication" (Fraser 1997: 19). In (post-)conflict settings, this could entail challenging, for example, "rape myths" (Burt 1980)[4] or "rape-supportive discourses" which permeate society, influencing who is viewed as a "credible" or "deserving" victim, who is treated with care and empathy and who is not (Gavey and Schmidt 2011). It may also involve ensuring that acts of SGBV are explicitly enumerated and successfully prosecuted as crimes by courts and criminal tribunals (Chappell 2015), and recognising these acts as intrinsically connected to armed conflict (Jarvis 2016). In relation to missing persons, recognition may involve the implementation of truth recovery mechanisms geared towards

establishing the fate and whereabouts of the missing, thereby reconstituting the disappeared as "persons-as-such" (Edkins 2011). Secondly, Fraser endorses *redistribution* through "redistributing income, re-organizing the division of labor" and increasing democratic decision-making to overcome the injustices of maldistribution (Fraser 1997: 19). This could be achieved through the provision of reparations measures to victims of wartime violence for harms incurred. Thirdly, Fraser highlights the importance of *representation,* both in terms of the *boundaries* involved in advancing claims to just distribution and reciprocal recognition, and the *decision-making rules and procedures* by which claims are adjudicated (2005: 7). To promote inclusive forms of justice, the criteria and procedures that define who qualifies as a subject of justice must be justly defined and enforced.

Remedying Injustice: Affirmation Versus Transformation

Notably, Fraser (1997: 23) identifies two contrasting approaches—*affirmation* and *transformation*—to remedying injustice:

> By affirmative remedies for injustice I mean remedies aimed at correcting inequitable outcomes of social arrangements without disturbing the underlying framework that generates them. By transformative remedies, in contrast, I mean remedies aimed at correcting inequitable outcomes precisely by restructuring the underlying generative framework.

Affirmative recognition entails acknowledging and upwardly revaluing the identities of marginalised groups, "while leaving intact both the contents of those identities and the group differentiations that underlie them (1997: 24). In transitional settings, this may involve the acknowledgement of survivors of conflict-related sexual violence, for example, as a discrete category and equal in status vis-a-vis other war-affected groups. *Affirmative redistribution* entails reallocating goods more equitably within the existing socio-economic system (2005: 87). This could entail implementing reparative measures such as property restitution, compensation for harms incurred, and rehabilitation through access to healthcare, without altering underlying relations of production.

Affirmative remedies have significant shortcomings however. Affirmative recognition strengthens group differentiation and promotes reification (1997: 24). Affirmative redistribution primarily addresses the impact

rather than roots of maldistribution (Ibid.: 23) and is unable to "challenge the deep structures that generate class disadvantage" (Ibid.: 25). It may also result in "injustices of recognition" by stigmatising marginalised groups and marking "the most disadvantaged as inherently deficient and insatiable" (Ibid.: 25). Consequently, Fraser favours the use of transformative approaches to achieve gender justice. These entail deep restructuring of relations of recognition and of production, rather than surface reallocations of respect and goods to existing identities and groups (Ibid.: 27). *Transformative recognition* involves changing the "underlying cultural-valuational structure" of identities via practices of deconstruction (Ibid.: 24). This destabilises collective identities in favour of "multiple, debinarized, fluid, ever-shifting differences" (Ibid.: 24). In (post-)conflict settings, this could entail deconstructing essentialised identity categories and polarised interpretations of violent pasts. *Transformative redistribution* entails transforming the underlying division of labour that causes socio-economic inequalities to arise (Ibid.: 23). It may also "promote solidarity, helping to redress some forms of misrecognition" (Ibid.: 25–26). For Fraser (2000: 22), this requires supplanting neoliberal economics with social democracy or democratic socialism.

Following Fraser, TJ mechanisms can potentially achieve gender justice by providing *recognition* of women as victims/survivors of violence; achieving the *redistribution* of material and/or symbolic resources in a more gender-equitable manner; and enabling women to *participate* and *voice* their aspirations, needs, and concerns as agents of post-war peacebuilding processes. In particular, they can challenge the "status subordination" (Fraser 2003: 50) affecting many survivors by positively revaluing their identities (Fraser 1997: 15), challenging structural inequalities, redistributing wealth and resources, and enabling women's full and meaningful participation in post-war justice and peacebuilding processes (Ibid.: 15). This book deploys Fraser's framework to evaluate gender justice initiatives in post-conflict BiH. It examines the ways in which women's diverse wartime experiences have been included or excluded, voiced or silenced, foregrounded or marginalised in the internationally supervised transition from war to peace. I explore efforts to channel these experiences into various forms of activism directed at making claims for post-war justice conceived of in terms of recognition, redistribution, and voice.

Through their engagement in various processes of dealing with the past, activists make visible the limitations of current approaches and also open up possibilities for change.

In the context of post-war BiH, achieving gender justice requires challenging misogynistic, heterosexist, and ethno-nationalist patterns of cultural value that, for example, task women with biological and cultural reproduction of ethnic and national groups, construct them as symbols of collective identity, and assign women largely subordinate roles in national, political, and military struggles.[5] Through these cultural practices, the female body, reproductive capacity, and sexuality often become significant boundary markers of ethnic/national identity—(ethno-) nationalist struggles are thus often fought and enacted through the bodies of women (Yuval-Davis and Anthias 1989; Anand 2007; Mookherjee 2008). Gender justice also entails addressing ongoing forms of socio-economic marginalisation and discrimination facing survivors of SGBV in particular, and women in general. These injustices surface across the continuum of wartime and peacetime, and include the loss of housing, property, employment, income, education, and social benefits; the emergence of discriminatory and exploitative employment practices; and rise of feminised forms of poverty and unemployment (Rakić-Vodinelić et al. 2015; Somun-Krupalija 2011). Finally, gender justice requires confronting the frequent exclusion and marginalisation of both women and SGBV survivors from the public sphere and from deliberative bodies. Affirmative measures can be introduced to provide legal acknowledgement of survivors' rights and needs (recognition), to enforce and strengthen survivors' socio-economic rights to reparations as members of a specifically targeted group (redistribution), and include greater numbers of women and of survivors in public institutions (participation/representation). Yet, achieving the gender justice envisaged in Fraser's tripartite model entails instituting the broader transformation of cultural, socio-economic, and political structures that enable sexual violence to emerge both in war and in peace. By transforming cultural norms, undertaking extensive restructuring of economic systems, and enabling meaningful participation and representation of survivors in justice and peacebuilding processes, transformative measures can achieve parity of participation and construct survivors "as citizens and equal rights bearers" (Rubio-Marín 2009a: 4).

Conceptualising Gendered Agency in War and Peace

The study of agency in contexts of conflict and of post-war justice and peacebuilding processes is an expanding area of research within Peace and Conflict Studies. On the one hand, scholars working within Critical Peace and Conflict Studies have explored local responses to international interventionism. They examine how interactions between international and local forms of peacebuilding work to produce hybridised forms of peace (Mac Ginty 2008, 2010b, 2011; Richmond 2009a, 2009b, 2010b; Richmond and Franks 2009).[6] Critical scholars highlight that the type of peace that is constructed in post-war contexts varies depending on the extent and nature of the compliance powers and incentivising powers of liberal peacebuilding agents, networks and structures, but also the ability of local actors to negotiate, resist, ignore, or adapt the liberal peace and to (re)build alternative forms of peace (Mac Ginty 2010a). As Kappler (2014: 41–45) demonstrates, the reactions that local actors demonstrate in response to international peacebuilding vary widely and include accommodation, acceptance, complicity, compliance, conformity, ambiguity, negotiation, modification, co-optation, ignorance, rejection, and resistance.[7] These articulations of agency and resistance may work to promote visions of peace that are context-sensitive and respond to everyday concerns (Richmond 2009a, b, c, 2010b, d, e, 2011a, b; Kappler and Richmond 2011). On the other hand, Feminist approaches to Peace and Conflict Studies have exposed the myriad forms of agency that women demonstrate in war fighting and peacebuilding processes.[8] Feminist scholarship reveals that women have actively engaged as agents of violence—as perpetrators of suicide bombings and other terrorist acts (Nacos 2005; Hunt and Rygiel 2006; Sjoberg and Gentry 2007), as fighters within anti-colonial and national liberation movements (Moghadam 1994), and as combatants within ethno-nationalist conflicts (Alison 2004, 2009). They demonstrate that hierarchical gender roles, identities and structures of power are potentially challenged, yet frequently reproduced, by international and domestic actors involved in promoting or contesting "liberal" imaginings of justice and peace (O'Reilly 2012; Krasniqi 2007; Björkdahl and Mannergren Selimovic 2013).

Yet, while both Feminist and Critical analyses have provided valuable insights into many of the power relations and gender dynamics at work in processes of conflict and (post-)conflict, they have been slower to advance the concept of gendered agency in peacebuilding contexts.[9] The

predominantly "add women and stir" approach adopted by Critical scholars regards gender largely as an additive rather than core category of analysis, with the potential to transform understandings of agency and related concepts such as hybridity, identity, and the everyday (McLeod 2016: 20). Feminist studies have demonstrated how external peacebuilding interventions can either open up, or alternatively close down, opportunities for women in (post-)conflict settings to demonstrate agency. For example, Henrizi (2015) points to the need to recognise the spatial dimension of agency, to understand how agency and resistance is articulated by local women in sites of international peacebuilding intervention. Björkdahl and Mannergren Selimovic (2015) identify transformative, critical, and creative aspects of agency that women exercise in relation to post-war justice processes, and examine how this agency is enabled and/or disabled vis-à-vis time and space. Yet, feminist analyses frequently focus on making visible forms of agency that work to "challenge or negotiate patterns of gendered relations of domination" (Björkdahl and Mannergren Selimovic 2015: 166). Consequently, particular kinds of agents—namely those whose aspirations and values coincide with contesting gendered hierarchies of power—are foregrounded in feminist analyses whilst the complex, changing, and often conflicting actions and decisions of women engaged in everyday encounters with justice and peacebuilding processes remain under-explored. In the context of BiH, existing feminist analyses have outlined key strategies and tactics adopted by women activists, firstly in response to ethnicised constructions of collective victimhood narrated by local ethnonational political elites, and secondly in response to essentialised representations of BiH women (as war victims, mothers, and peacebuilders), emanating from international donor organisations (Helms 2013). Cockburn (1998, 2002) demonstrated how women activists adopt a politics of "transversalism" to form alliances across ethnic/national/class and other divides (see also Korac 2006).[10] Helms (2013), meanwhile, notes how women activists in BiH often mobilise "affirmative essentialisms" to legitimate their claims, or alternatively resort to "strategic avoidance" of sensitive topics related to wartime violence in order to advance their agendas and enable dialogue across divides. My study advances existing analyses by applying a relational understanding of autonomy to the case of BiH. Whilst feminist insights into relational autonomy have proliferated within disciplines such as philosophy (Mackenzie and Stoljar 2000b) and law (Nedelsky 2011), they remain surprisingly neglected within Peace and Conflict Studies. This study therefore generates new insights into

the multiple and nuanced modes of gendered agency and resistance that are fostered and deployed in contexts of war and peace, an aspect which remains largely overlooked by existing scholarship.

Theorising the Agency of Women Activists in BiH

Studying the agency women deploy in relation to peacebuilding interventions is of paramount importance for understanding how gendered forms of domination and/or subordination emerge in (post-)conflict contexts, but also for exploring the possibilities for change. However, conceptualising agency is also fraught with danger. Too narrow a focus on the constraining conditions produced by asymmetrical power structures can overlook the capacity of women to resist and undermine such structures, whilst spotlighting agency may result in structural constraints being overlooked (Davis and Fisher 1993: 3–4). Whilst the first strategy risks treating women as passive victims, the second may result in blame being attributed unfairly to individuals if their resistance is unsuccessful (Ibid.: 4). Overcoming these risks requires integrating both structure and agency, in order to explore "the subtle and ambivalent ways women may be negotiating at the margins of power, sometimes constrained by but also resisting and even undermining asymmetrical power relations" (Ibid.: 6).

Agency, Autonomy, and Relationality

The concept of agency is widely debated within feminist theory, and social theory more broadly. A deeply contested notion, agency is bound up with a number of other concepts including autonomy, intentionality, choice, freedom, creativity, free will, rationality, selfhood, and so on (Ahearn 2001: 112). Agency can be understood, in minimal terms, as "the socio-culturally mediated capacity to act" (Emirbayer and Mische 1998: 962). It is a *capacity* which can be developed; is connected with potential or actual *action*; and is *situated* within specific socio-cultural contexts which structure the opportunities for agency to emerge and be deployed. Agency is frequently defined in terms of autonomy, the capacity to make decisions regarding one's life.[11] However, relational theories view autonomy not as an *innate* characteristic of individuals but instead as a capacity that is fostered or impeded within inter-personal relationships and within

particular socio-cultural settings.[12] The development and exercise of autonomy can therefore be impaired by oppressive or abusive inter-personal relationships, and by social conditions characterised by oppression, injustice, and inequality (Mackenzie 2008: 519). Agency may be deployed by individual subjects; however, subjects exercise autonomy through a relational sense of self (Mackenzie 2008: 519; Showden 2011). To be autonomous, an agent must "feel a sense of her own power … and that feeling is only possible within a structure of relationships conducive to autonomy" (Jennifer Nedelsky, cited in Pollock 2000: 84). Material structures and inequalities—such as poverty, security fears, lack of educational opportunities—also have a significant influence on the options available to the agent (Susan Sherwin, cited in Pollock 2000: 84).

Feminist moral philosophers have outlined a number of different models—procedural, strong substantive, and weak substantive—which put forward different understandings of autonomy.[13] *Procedural* models focus on the *process* or *manner* in which choices are made or desires emerge, rather than the *substance* of a person's decisions, desires, or actions. The key issue is "whether the agent has subjected her motivations and actions to the appropriate kind of critical reflection" (Mackenzie and Stoljar 2000a: 13–14). Thus, for Friedman (2003: 1–14), autonomy entails *deliberation*, and is demonstrated when a person: firstly consciously reflects on the desires, wants, concerns, needs, cares, values, commitments, and so on that are important to her; and secondly adopts choices or actions in accordance with those wants and values, without being impeded by conditions of coercion, deception or manipulation by others.[14] Similarly, Meyers (1989, 2000) refuses to pre-judge the choices, actions, or values that autonomous individuals should endorse. She suggests that we conceptualise autonomy as a *competency* developed over time which enables us to reflect on one's choices and actions, and to live in harmony with one's "authentic self" (Meyers 1989: 49–50; 1987: 626–628). Relationally autonomous agents, in Meyers' (1989: 55) view, are those who "possess and exercise skills that maintain a fluid interaction between their traits, their feelings, their beliefs, their values, their extended life plans, their current possibilities for realizing these plans, and their conduct". Skills constitutive of autonomy competency include the capacity for self-discovery, self-direction, and self-definition (Meyers 1989, especially Part 2, Section 4). Meyers (1987: 627) argues that women have traditionally displayed "sporadic and gradated forms of autonomy" due oppressive forms of feminine socialisation which so often thrust them into subordinate roles

and obstruct the full development and exercise of autonomy.[15] However, she highlights that women still exercise degrees of autonomy in various aspects of their lives, being highly autonomous in some domains and less in others (Meyers 1987: 627). They often display *episodic autonomy* (the capacity to make decisions or take actions in particular situations) and *narrowly programmatic autonomy* (the ability to exercise autonomy in relation to a series of actions and decisions) yet often struggle to direct the general direction of their lives by exercising *programmatic autonomy* (Mackenzie and Stoljar 2000a: 18; Meyers 1989). In this way, autonomy can be viewed as a matter of degree and of domain, rather than presence and absence, helping us to think through the diverse and subtle forms of agency that women display in different aspects of their lives.

Procedural accounts have been helpful for feminism. They respect the myriad differences that exist among agents, their life plans and visions of the good, thereby enabling the choices and actions of individuals embedded in different socio-cultural contexts to be regarded as autonomous (Stoljar 2000: 94–95). Procedural models are therefore able to bridge feminist demands for a universalist model of moral judgement with a recognition that moral judgements are made from the standpoint of the "concrete" rather than "generalised other" (Benhabib 1992). Nevertheless, procedural accounts are criticised for supporting rather than challenging oppressive norms and practices. Stoljar (2000: 95), for example, rejects procedural models for conflicting with "feminist intuition" and argues that "preferences influenced by oppressive norms of femininity cannot be autonomous" regardless of whether choices are made or actions taken after critical reflection. In addition, Madhok (2013) highlights several significant flaws in procedural models. Firstly, they are "action-biased" in that they demand that individuals convert their desires and values into actions in order to demonstrate their "autonomy competence" (2013: 55). This ignores the reality that individuals situated in coercive circumstances often find it difficult to translate their desires and values into actions, and overlooks the fact that actions may not reveal the optimal preferences of agents (Ibid.: 60). Secondly, procedural models wrongly conceptualise coercion as "external to and as always acting upon persons, indeed a condition that can be resisted and overcome" (Ibid.: 55). Thirdly, in spite of their professed content neutrality, autonomy is presented as a "transformative value" regardless of the potentially oppressive and injurious context in which agents are situated (Ibid.). Finally, procedural models wrongly

assume that individuals can stand outside of social contexts to deliberate upon their values, preferences and potential actions (Ibid.: 56). Instead, desires and values should be viewed as formed "in and through that context" (Ibid.: 61).

As alternatives to procedural accounts, Stoljar and others have promoted *substantive* models, arguing that autonomy requires that an agent not only reflects on her choices and actions and ensures that they are in accordance with her wants and values, but also ensures that particular principles are upheld. Strong and weak versions of the substantive model have emerged. A *strong substantive* approach is one in which "the contents of the preferences or values that agents can form or act on autonomously are subject to direct, normative constraints" (Benson 2005: 133). These may be *positive* in requiring that the agent values certain desires or wants, or *negative* in excluding one or more desires or values as illegitimate (Ibid.: 126). *Weak substantive* approaches, on the other hand, address the problem of oppressive socialisation not by attaching *direct* normative restrictions on the contents of an agent's values or preferences, but instead requiring that the agent demonstrate "normative competence" (Mackenzie and Stoljar 2000a: 19)—self-regarding attitudes such as self-respect, self-trust, and self-esteem—as a necessary condition of autonomy (Stoljar 2013). Normative constraints are applied *indirectly* to the substance of an agent's values or preferences "by way of the attitudes toward their own competence and worth through which agents claim such authority" (Paul Benson, quoted in Stoljar 2000: 107). McLeod and Sherwin (2000: 263–264), for example, require that an autonomous agent display self-trust—trust in her ability to choose effectively, in her capacity to act on decisions, and in her judgements underlying these decisions. No specific moral norms require to be endorsed; agents are judged as autonomous when they demonstrate attributes that provide the capacity for autonomy in spite of the oppressive social contexts in which they may be embedded.

Stoljar (2000: 95) asserts that only a *strong substantive model*—"one that places restrictions on the contents of agents' preferences"—can provide a satisfactory solution to the problems raised by oppressive social contexts. These models place limits on the desires, values, beliefs, and attitudes that can be regarded as autonomous, and therefore prevent actions resulting from the internalisation of oppressive norms from being regarded as autonomous (Stoljar 2000). However, strong substantive models are problematic in requiring that agents not only stand outside of and above dominant norms when deliberating on their values and preferences, but

also act upon their preferences, desires, and choices, in order to qualify as autonomous, even in circumstances in which action is severely restricted and risks incurring harm (Madhok 2007; Madhok and Rai 2012). Consequently, there is a danger that the agency of women living in oppressive social contexts, whose ability to resist oppressive social norms may be constrained by threats of violence and other social sanctions, will remain hidden (Madhok 2007: 338). Strong substantive theories are also faulted for relying on abstract generalisations rather than situated decision-making, and consequently overlook real-life instances of actual and probable autonomy (Sperry 2012). They have a propensity to write off women as acting unreflexively or on the basis of "false consciousness" or "deformed desires" (Stoljar 2013),[16] instead of considering how women frequently weigh costs and benefits before making decisions, and may also attempt to "bargain with patriarchy" (Kandiyoti 1988) by complying with oppressive norms in order to pursue other goals (Sperry 2012).

In this study, autonomy is viewed in relational terms as "a capacity that exists only in the context of social relations that support it and only in conjunction with the internal sense of being autonomous" (Jennifer Nedelsky, quoted in Anderson and Honneth 2005: 129). My understanding of autonomy incorporates Friedman's call for deliberation and critical reflection, but does not insist that the choices women make coincide with their favoured preferences. I embrace Meyers' view of autonomy as a competency which can be developed or undermined. In particular, I draw attention to the social conditions, both material and symbolic, in which the agent operates, noting that these conditions can foster or impede the development and exercise of autonomy, and drawing attention to the ways in which the possibilities for agency to be articulated are opened up or closed down. I also highlight the differences in the degree of autonomy displayed by individuals and in the spheres of life in which autonomy is exercised. *Contra* Stoljar, I reject strong substantive accounts of autonomy, preferring to analyse in detail the evaluative processes, choices, and actions that individual women undertake, rather than relying on abstract generalisations that risk misrecognising women as either autonomous or heteronomous. In doing so, I endorse Madhok's (2007) insistence that we "shift our theoretical gaze away from … overt actions or final acts to an [empirical] analysis of cognitive processes, motivations and desires that lie behind our actions". Consequently, I focus largely on the narratives of women activists that I have collected through interviews and observations of gender justice events.

Agency, Power, and Resistance: A Post-structuralist Feminist Approach

In putting forward the notion of relational autonomy, and developing the procedural and substantive models of autonomy outlined above, feminists have reconfigured traditional notions of autonomy by attending to the issue of intersubjectivity, and the impact of historical and social contexts in shaping desires, values, and actions. What remains relatively undertheorised in the account I have so far outlined is the role that power plays in the development and exercise of autonomy and consequently the emergence of agency and resistance. To understand how the capacity for critical reflection (upon one's desires, values, and needs, as well as upon the social norms, institutions, and practices structuring one's life) and autonomous action is developed and deployed, it is necessary to add an understanding of the relation between discourse, power, and subjectivity. This allows us to explore the ways in which the (agential) subject is constituted socially and linguistically through power-laden discourses, practices, and institutions, and to examine the possibilities for particular constructions of the self to be resisted, subverted, and transformed. There are, as Allen (2008: 173) points out, two sides to "the politics of our selves" or ways in which we emerge as subjects—*autonomy*, or the capacity for critical reflection and for transformation, and *subjection*, or the ways in which subjects are constituted by and through relations of power. The rest of this chapter therefore focuses on this second side of subject formation, deploying insights from post-structuralist and post-structuralist feminist theories. I turn first to Michel Foucault's analysis of power and subjection, before highlighting how his insights have been taken up by feminist theorists. This combination of a relational account of autonomy plus a post-structuralist feminist account of power and subjectivity provides a powerful theoretical lens for interpreting how women in Bosnia negotiate TJ discourses and practices. It helps us to examine the extent to which this negotiation enables and/or constrains their capacity to articulate agency and resistance.

Power and Resistance: Insights from Foucault

Foucault was primarily concerned with exploring three major themes of power, knowledge, and subjectivity. He worked to historicise and contextualise the forms of knowledge and rationality that emerge across time and space; to examine the numerous strategies and mechanisms of power that are used to manage and control individuals and

societies; and to explore how the self is historically and culturally produced (Danaher et al. 2000: 1–12). His work explored the constitution of the subject through discourse and social practices, and examined the ways in which individuals might take up particular "practices" or "technologies of the self" in order to actively constitute themselves as subjects (McLaren 2002: 3–5; Allen 2008: 37). Foucault sought to provide a "genealogy of the modern subject", or ways in which the modern subject is constituted through "technologies of domination" and "technologies of the self" (Michel Foucault, cited in Allen 2008: 46). Technologies of domination refer to "techniques which permit one to determine the conduct of individuals, to impose certain wills on them, and to submit them to certain ends or objectives" (Ibid.). Technologies of the self, meanwhile, refer to the "techniques which permit individuals to effect, by their own means, a certain number of operations on their own bodies, on their own souls, on their own thoughts, on their own conduct, … so as to transform themselves, modify themselves, and to attain a certain state of perfection, of happiness, of purity, of supernatural power, and so on" (Ibid.). Whilst the former provides an account of how particular subjects are produced through techniques of discipline, observation, judgement, and control, the latter helps us understand how individuals can acquire the capacity to reflect critically on power relations and take deliberate steps to transform them (Allen 2008: 46–47).[17] Individuals are viewed as simultaneously *subjects* and *objects* of government, meaning that agency and resistance are possible to develop and exert but are constrained by structures of domination and exclusion (Showden 2011: x).

In his account of how the subject is constituted, Foucault (1981: 92) rejected the juridical model of power that dominated social and political theory which conceives of power as *centralised* and *possessed* by an individual or institution such as the sovereign or the state, as operating through *violence, prohibition* and *repression*, and as "a mode of subjugation" or "general system of domination exerted by one group over another". In its place, he set forth an account of power as a capillary *circulating* throughout the social body, as exerted from the *bottom-up* as well as from the top-down (Ibid.: 94), and as a *productive* and *enabling* rather than a solely negative and restraining force (Foucault 1977/1995: 194). Foucault's account of subjection (*assujettissement*) highlighted how power-laden discourses and practices work to produce individuals as certain types of subjects, with particular qualities, capacities, and identities (Foucault 2003:

130). In this regard, he distinguished between two poles or mechanisms of power—*disciplinary power* and *biopower*—which emerged as dominant forms of power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Foucault 1977/1995: 135–139).

Disciplinary power operates at the micro level of the *individual* and aims to produce docile and useful bodies, "not only so that they may do what one wishes, but so that they may operate as one wishes, with the techniques, the speed and the efficiency that one determines" (Ibid.: 138). Through the instruments of *surveillance*, *normalisation*, and *examination*, the individual is produced as an object of power and as an "instrument of its exercise" (Ibid.: 170), turned into a self-disciplining agent who "assumes responsibility for the constraints of power", and "becomes the principle of [her] own subjection" (Ibid.: 202–203). The second pole of power, *biopower* or *regulatory power*, operates at the macro level of the *population*, aiming to exert control over populations as a whole, to regulate them so that they might be usefully connected to the requirements of the capitalist economy (Foucault 1981: 140–141). The outcome was a "normalizing society" (Ibid.: 144) in which powerful institutions (judicial, medical, administrative etc.) became increasingly involved in insidious forms of social control covering both discipline and regulation (Collier 2009: 85). Through disciplinary strategies of individualisation and biopolitical techniques of totalisation, not merely individuals but entire populations became subjected to modern practices of governance. Feminist scholars have drawn on and extended these concepts to explore women's embodied experiences of domination and subjugation, illustrating how women's bodies are targeted by various mechanisms of power that aim to regulate their behaviour and discipline their thoughts and actions, coercing women to take up norms and practices that may subordinate them (e.g. Bartky 1988).[18]

In addition, Foucault's account of subjection also highlights that individuals, at the same time as being subjected to and constrained by power, are also engaged in exercising power. "[I]ndividuals", he argued, "do not simply circulate in those networks [of power]; [rather] they are in a position to both submit to and exercise this power" (Foucault 2003b: 29). Individuals should therefore be understood as both the *effects* of power and as *vehicles* of power. The body acts as both a "source and target of power", and is neither purely passive nor purely active, neither recipient nor perpetrator of power (Martin Hewitt, quoted in Lock and Kaufert (1998: 8). There is space for individuals to engage in "struggles in

subjection"—or "struggles against the logic of subjection and the government of individualization itself" (Foucault, cited in Allen 2008: 59)—and therefore take up alternative forms of subjectivity from those being imposed by others.

Power, Foucault (1982: 790) argued, is "exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar as they are free". Consequently, whilst individuals act within, and are constrained by, relations of power, they are also agents with the capacity to deliberate and reflect upon their situations and to constitute themselves as particular kinds of subjects, opening up space for disciplinary and regulatory forms of power to be negotiated and resisted. Women might therefore take up and rework the modes of power that have worked to produce their self-understandings and their visions of peace and justice, after identifying the source and power of particular norms and practices that constrain them (Showden 2011: xiii). These may be found, for example, in the discourses used by policymakers and practitioners, as well as in the micro-practices of everyday life.

In Foucault's later writings, he broadens his earlier focus on the way in which "technologies of power" or "domination" work to objectivise and subjectivise individuals with an analysis of how individuals constitute *themselves* as subjects through "technologies of the self" (McLaren 2002: 145) such as letter-writing, meditation, and truth-telling, These techniques, which vary across time and place, enable individuals to independently gain self-knowledge (rather than interpret themselves through dominant discourses emanating from powerful institutions such as religion, medicine, and psychiatry), to care for the self, and to engage in practices of self-transformation (Foucault, quoted in Allen 2004: 243). Though shaped by the power relations operating within specific historic and cultural contexts, individuals may come to reflect upon and make choices between possible behaviours and courses of action, thereby becoming subjects of rather than merely objects of power (Foucault 1982: 778). This process is characterised neither by voluntarist self-fashioning nor by the "straight-forward imposition" of cultural norms on individual identity (McNay 2004:154). As Foucault notes, the practices that individuals engage in are "not something that the individual invents by [herself]" but are rather "patterns that [s]he finds in [her] culture and which are proposed, suggested, and imposed on [her] by [her] culture, [her] society and [her] social group" (Foucault, quoted in McNay 2004: 154). The subject can never escape from power and her historical and cultural location. However, she can actively work to re-create herself, whether in

compliance with, negotiation of, or resistance to the exercise of disciplinary and/or regulatory power.[19]

Technologies of the self are practices of freedom—self-care and self-transformation entail an awareness of and critique of one's social condition, and may therefore be the first step towards political, economic, and social transformation (McLaren 2002: 159). These technologies can help us to explore how women articulate agency and resistance in response to the exercise of power—rather than being viewed as "docile bodies in the grip of an inexorable disciplinary power" they encourage us to conceive of individuals as "self-determining agents who are capable of challenging and resisting the structure of domination in modem society" (McNay (1992), p.4). As Sawicki (1991: 43–44) argues, freedom can be located:

> … in our capacity to discover the historical links between certain modes of self-understanding and modes of domination, and to resist the ways in which we have already been classified and identified by dominant discourses. This means discovering new ways of understanding ourselves and one another, refusing to accept the dominant culture's characterisations of our practices and desires, and redefining them from within resistant cultures.

Opportunities for agency and resistance to be demonstrated or voiced are present in individuals' everyday lives. Whilst disciplinary and regulatory forms of power may attempt to govern and control individual conduct and to establish particular types of relationships with ourselves, there is also space for individuals to "promote new forms of subjectivity through the refusal of this kind of individuality which has been imposed on us for several decades" (Foucault, quoted in McNay 2004: 142) by acting and thinking outside of established terms. By reflecting on how dominant discourses circulating within societies construct individuals as particular kinds of subjects, obliging them to undertake particular kinds of practices, individuals create opportunities to question the social constraints that have been imposed on them, and undertake practices of transgression (see McNay 2004: 144–145).

By reflecting on how one's sense of self has been fashioned by others, individuals may work towards fashioning new forms of subjectivity that lie outside dominant discourses, creating space to develop new ways of acting and thinking that enable us to care for ourselves and for others. Agency and resistance is therefore possible—"in the transgression and contestation of societal norms; in the disruption of metanarratives of humanism;

. . . in the 're-appearance' of 'local popular', 'disqualified', and 'subjugated knowledges'; and in the aesthetic of self-creation" (Jessica Kulynych, quoted in Death 2010: 238). These insights help us to think about the "subtle and ambivalent ways women may be negotiating at the margins of power, sometimes constrained by but also resisting and even undermining asymmetrical power structures" (Davis and Fisher 1993: 6). As Foucault (1981: 95) argued "[w]here there is power, there is resistance, and … this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power." Women are rarely passive in response to power networks; however, they often operate within material conditions of constraint, thereby narrowing the range of options available to them.

Discourse, Power, and Construction of Subjectivity

Post-structural feminist theorising focuses on the processes of gendered subjectification—the "historically [and culturally] specific processes whereby one is subjected to the discursive regimes and regulatory frameworks [and] through which gendered individuals and their social contexts are … constructed" (Davies and Gannon 2005: 318; see also Butler 1993, 1995, 1999 and Foucault 1980). The subject is conceived not as transcendental (as a stable, coherent self that exists before and beyond the social realm) but rather as discursively produced by "relations of power" (Foucault 1980: 118) existing within a given society. As Mouffe (1992: 372; my emphasis) asserts, the subject is

> … *constituted by an ensemble of 'subject positions'* that can never be totally fixed in a closed system of differences, *constructed by a diversity of discourses* among which there is no necessary relation but a constant movement of overdetermination and displacement. The *identity* of such a *multiple and contradictory subject* is therefore always *contingent and precarious, temporarily fixed* at the intersection of those subject positions and *dependent on specific forms of identification*.

This "multiply constituted subject" is therefore understood as having multiple identities which are constituted through discourse in relation to difference. Discourses provide a range of subject positions, including particular understandings of femininity and masculinity, for individuals to take up and construct their identities (Weedon 1997). By drawing on the multiple (though limited) discourses that exist within a particular society, individual women can adopt multiple subject positions, some of which are more

powerful than others (Baxter 2003: 10). Individuals are subject to competing discourses which offer a number of positions relating to gender, race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, and so on. They are *positioned by* discourse but can also *position themselves* within discourse (Davies and Harré 1990; Harré and Van Langenhove 1991. This opens up possibilities for agency and resistance to emerge as individuals are discursively produced as a "nexus of subjectivities" in constantly shifting relations of power which renders them at times powerful and at other times powerless both within and across discursive contexts (Baxter 2003: 27; citing Valerie Walkerdine). Agency and resistance emerges out of the "clash between contradictory subject positions and practices" (Chris Weedon, cited in Baxter 2003: 30), as individuals "adapt to, negotiate or resist dominant subject positions or, alternatively take up subject positions within a resistant discourse" (Baxter (2003): 31).

In understanding how gendered agency emerges in relation to post-war justice processes, it is therefore important to pay close attention to the particular "subject positions" that emerge in the narratives of women activists and in TJ policies and practices. This study focuses on how women construct their experiences of wartime trauma and post-war struggles for justice through available discourses that circulate in the particular historical, socio-cultural, and institutional settings in which they are embedded, which in turn shapes their sense of self. The discourses that they draw upon include a number of subject positions for them to take up or reject. These subject positions "constitute ways-of-being through placing the subject within a network of meanings and social relations which facilitate as well as constrain what can be thought, said and done by someone so positioned" (Willig 2000: 557; cited in Lafrance 2009: 10). The ways in which experiences of wartime violence are constructed (e.g. as deeply traumatic, or as violations of human rights) means that speakers are positioned in particular ways, shaping the decisions and actions an individual might take (e.g. to seek healthcare and reparative forms of reparations, or to fight for the prosecution of perpetrators), as well as their subjectivity or sense of self (e.g. as a victim or a rights-holder).

Conclusion

In this study, I explore women's knowledge about and responses to various technologies and narratives of justice, situating their agency in the context of their lived experiences. As will be shown, women's responses to official TJ discourses and practices are exceedingly complex, with individual

women weighing up the likely benefits and costs, the potential opportunities and material constraints, before choosing whether and how to participate. For some women, TJ has been experienced as *enabling* or *empowering*, providing opportunities to achieve post-war justice conceived of in terms of recognition, redistribution, and voice in the aftermath of trauma. Others indeed *depend* on TJ mechanisms—to enable them to fulfil basic material needs; to provide relief of pain and suffering; to find, identify and bury missing partners, family members, and friends. Consequently, some *embrace* or *accept* TJ mechanisms in a positive light, and are prepared to *conform* to or *comply* with many of the expectations of policymakers and practitioners. Some are also willing to *challenge* institutions when gaps appear between policy rhetoric, discursive and material practices, and the reality of their everyday lives. For others, however, TJ discourses and practices have resulted in negative experiences of non-recognition, misrecognition, and status subordination. This has prompted responses ranging from outright *rejection* of and *resistance* to specific TJ mechanisms and institutions, to attempts to *modify* and *negotiate* dominant visions of justice being promoted in post-conflict Bosnia. It has also led to creative efforts to promote *alternative* paradigms of justice that shift the focus towards restorative and transformative models of justice due to the shortcomings of the dominant retributive approach.

Women in Bosnia are channelling their experiences of wartime violence and post-war injustices and using these to articulate claims for rights, for recognition, for the redistribution of material and discursive resources, for political voice, and so on. At times, women struggle against many of the masculinist, elitist, heteronormative, and ethno-nationalist norms, institutions, and entrenched power structures that mark and oppress them as gendered, classed, sexualised, and ethnicised subjects. At other times, women are also *complicit* in reproducing these structures of inequality and subordination, rather than attempting to challenge and overcome the oppressive aspects of "dealing with the past" in the post-war era, a fact which is often overlooked[20] particularly by essentialist accounts of women as peacebuilders. The modes of agency that women express range from the transformative, the subversive, and the progressive, to the conservative and even regressive (Charrad 2010), depending on whether and how dominant social structures are contested or accommodated. Indeed, in matters of TJ, resistance and accommodation are often not opposed to one another but rather "depend upon each other at every turn" (Lewin 1998: 175). It is frequently the case that women acting to confront one

form of oppression may simultaneously maintain and validate another.[21] Whilst transitional moments often offer opportunities for women to develop and exercise the capacity for agency and resistance, their lives are also constrained by myriad forms of insecurity, injustice and oppression in the post-war era, making it very difficult for women to initiate change given that their energies are often consumed by the necessity of ensuring everyday survival.

Notes

1. McKay (2000: 561) for example regards gender justice as ensuring that post-war peacebuilding and TJ processes "are equitable, not privileged by and for men, and … acknowledge the ways in which women uniquely experience harm". Spees (2004: 9) defines it as "the protection and promotion of civil, political, economic and social rights on the basis of gender equality".
2. In relation to truth commissions, examples include establishing women's hearings, dedicated gender units, gender quotas for commissioners and staff, and specialised witness protection and support; building partnerships with local and international women's organisations; and constructing "gender-responsive" mandates that are inclusive of women and sensitive to gender-based violence (Theidon 2007: 457; Valji 2010: 9–13).
3. Due to space constraints, this section cannot capture the expanding literature on understanding SGBV in conflict. For an overview, please see for example, Baaz and Stern (2009).
4. The term "rape myth" was first defined by Martha Burt (1980: 217) as "prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists" which create "a climate hostile to rape victims".
5. As Yuval-Davis and Anthias (1989: 7) identify in their seminal study of gender and nationalism, these are the key ways in which women participate in ethnic, national, and state-building processes, including war. The nation and the state are gendered constructs, and women both contribute to and challenge these constructions.
6. On the distinction between Critical and Orthodox approaches to Peace and Conflict Studies, see various contributions within Richmond (2010a).
7. On the variety of responses local actors demonstrate to international peacebuilding discourses and practices, see also: Kappler and Richmond (2011); Mac Ginty (2010a); Richmond (2009a, b, c, 2010b, d, e, 2011a, b).
8. Some of the most notable feminist studies of women and war, and the relationship between war and gender include Cockburn (1998), (2007); Cockburn and Žarkov (2002); Enloe (2000); Elshtain (1995); Goldstein

(2001); Lorentzen and Turpin (1998); Meintjes et al. (2001); Moser and Clark (2001); Nordstrom (1997); Sjoberg (2006); Turshen and Twagiramariya (1998).

9. Notable exceptions include Henrizi (2015); Björkdahl and Mannergren Selimovic (2015). However, these studies do not deploy a relational autonomy approach to understanding gendered agency in (post-)conflict contexts.
10. As Yuval-Davis (1997: 88–92) explains, transversal politics involves engaging in dialogue, using techniques of "rooting" and "shifting"—centring on one's own experiences whilst being empathetic to the differential positionings of the other individuals and collectivities—to make possible discussion and political activism.
11. McNay (2000: 10) for example, views agency as "the capacity for autonomous action in the face of often overwhelming cultural sanctions and structural inequalities".
12. As Mackenzie and Stoljar (2000a: 4) point out, the notion of relational autonomy "does not refer to a single unified conception of autonomy but is rather an umbrella term, designating a range of related perspectives … premised on a shared conviction … that persons are socially embedded and that agents' identities are formed within the context of social relationships and shaped by a complex of intersecting social determinants, such as race, class, gender, and ethnicity".
13. Mackenzie and Stoljar (2000a) divide feminist theories of autonomy into procedural theories (which come in structural, historical, and competency versions) and substantive theories (which have strong and weak versions). In this chapter, I outline the key differences between procedural and substantive theories only generally because my account of gendered agency relies largely on weak substantive accounts of autonomy. For feminist discussions of the benefits and problems of adopting procedural versus substantive theories of autonomy, please see for example: Friedman (2003); Mackenzie and Stoljar (2000b).
14. Friedman (2003: 6) clarifies that the presence of coercive conditions does not rule out autonomy. Rather, autonomy requires "the absence of *effective* coercion, deception, manipulation, or anything else that interferes significantly with someone's behaving in a way that reflects her wants and values as she would reflect on and reaffirm them under noninterfering conditions".
15. See also Meyers (1989), Part 3, Section 3 and Part 4, Section 2.
16. Stoljar (2013) argues that "false consciousness" is present when an agent "adopts as true the false ideology that oppresses her", whilst "deformed desires" refer to desires that "depend on the belief in the false ideology".

17. Foucault (in Allen 2008: 46) argued that a genealogy of the subject must understand both of these technologies and their inter-connection. He argued that "the contact point, where the [way] individuals are driven by others is tied to the way they conduct themselves, is what we can call … government."
18. Bartky (1988: 71), for example, adopts Foucault's notion of disciplinary power to explore how practices such as dieting, exercise, and beauty regimes are involved in constructing "the ideal body of femininity", resulting in the production of a "'practiced and subjected' body … on which an inferior status has been inscribed". These practices, she argues, are part of an oppressive and unequal system of sexual subordination which aims to turn "women into the docile and compliant companions of men just as surely as the army aims to turn its raw recruits into soldiers" (1988: 75).
19. As Jana Sawicki (cited in Lock and Kaufert 1998: 8) argues, the subject is "neither entirely autonomous nor enslaved, neither the originator of discourses and practices that constitute its experiences, nor determined by them".
20. As Atasoy (2006: 206) points out, "An emphasis on agency [often] assumes that women are active, rational subjects who desire autonomy and self-realization by struggling against the dominant norms and institutions that oppress them … [However this] belies the reality that women also actively adopt dominant norms that systematically constrain their options."
21. Chad Bauman (cited in Burke (2012: 127) argues that "'agents' who act to combat one form of oppression may at the same time be preserving and validating another."

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CHAPTER 4

"The Triumph of Justice"? Examining Official Discourse on Transitional Justice

Introduction

This chapter examines official discourse on transitional justice (TJ), exploring how TJ processes are presented to victims and survivors of wartime violence, especially women, and their representatives. This is the first stage of my discourse analysis which focuses on establishing how TJ mechanisms are conveyed as appropriate and/or necessary methods of dealing with the past. I concentrate in particular on the issues of wartime sexual violence and missing persons, these being the focus of the next two empirical chapters on women's activism. Viewing TJ policies and practices as discursive and material interventions which aim to govern war-related trauma and find ways of dealing with the past, my analysis focuses on ascertaining how TJ processes are conceptualised and legitimised. In addition, I highlight how the roles and identities of victims, survivors, and their representatives are constructed within these texts, the opportunities and constraints placed on their participation, as well as the objects and subject positions that are produced. Overall, the chapter provides the context and conditions within which women in Bosnia frequently encounter TJ, which will enable me to explore in subsequent chapters how women develop and deploy various modes of agency and resistance in response.

Official discourse on TJ—as articulated in principle policy documents, reports, and statements from key actors and institutions charged with dealing with the past—plays a crucial role in shaping both understandings of and responses to post-war justice mechanisms. However, policymakers

M. O'Reilly, *Gendered Agency in War and Peace*, Rethinking Peace and Conflict Studies, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-352-00145-7_4

and practitioners are far from unified in their viewpoints on TJ but rather display a range of perspectives regarding appropriate and/or necessary methods of dealing with the past. As such, this chapter explores some of the ways in which a range of international and local institutions communicate their policies and practices to victims, survivors, and others, and situates this official discourse within the wider TJ framework being implemented in Bosnia.

The analysis outlined here explores a range of documentary material that women in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) receive or encounter in their interactions as victims, as survivors, and as activists, with TJ institutions. The material emanates from a number of sources, and provides coverage of (a) both retributive and restorative justice mechanisms; (b) documents and statements emanating from international and domestic institutions; and (c) material relating to conflict-related issues of sexual violence and missing persons.

The first section of this chapter outlines my analytic approach. The second section undertakes a discourse analysis of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) documentary *Sexual Violence and the Triumph of Justice*. I consider how criminal justice processes are presented as appropriate and/or necessary methods of dealing with the legacy of conflict-related sexual violence and argue that the ICTY reproduces stereotypical understandings of survivors of sexual violence as passive victims of war. The third section turns to the issue of missing persons. I examine the publication *Locating and Identifying Missing Persons: A Guide for Families in Bosnia and Herzegovina,* published by International Commission for Missing Persons (ICMP). I explore how the process of locating, recovering, and identifying missing persons is communicated as a reliable and effective method of dealing with this particular legacy of the war. I highlight that ICMP constitutes families of the missing as agential subjects, opening up space for survivors to take up active roles. The final section deploys Fraser's three-dimensional model of justice to deconstruct these top-down, elite-level narratives of progress, with reference to key informant interviews, and an analysis of state- and entity-level laws regulating these issues. Both the ICTY and ICMP have achieved significant progress in recognizing victims and survivors of wartime sexual violence and missing persons, respectively. However, criminal trials have failed to fully acknowledge the multiple violations and diverse range of harms suffered by many victims of sexual violence. Furthermore, efforts to reconstitute the disappeared as "persons-as-such" (Edkins 2011) by establishing their

fate and whereabouts have been compromised by political manipulation and obstructionism, as well as by the limits of science and technology. In addition, the dominant focus on achieving criminal accountability for crimes of sexual violence, and truth recovery for wartime disappearances, has achieved only partial and largely affirmative forms of recognition whilst largely neglecting demands for redistributive justice. As regards representation, although the ICTY has taken important steps to secure the participation and representation of survivors, female legal professionals, and gender experts in criminal proceedings, the vast majority of sexual violence survivors lack a public platform to voice their experiences. Initiatives geared towards resolving the issue of missing persons have however provided significant opportunities for women to actively participate in TJ processes and institutions, the impact of which will be explored in Chap. 6.

Discourse, Power, and the Production of BiH Women as Victims and/or Survivors

The discourse analysis I undertake in this chapter explores how Bosnia's *transition* from *past* violence to *future* reconciliation is narrated within "official" discourses on TJ. I focus on identifying and tracing the representational and discursive practices that construct particular conceptions of *peace* and *justice*, and which legitimate certain TJ mechanisms as appropriate and necessary methods for *dealing with the past*. I explore the particular subject positions (e.g. "victims", "survivors", and "perpetrators"), and objects (e.g. "crimes of sexual violence") that are discursively produced (Moon 2008), together with the material practices that emerge from this story.

Discourse analysis is deployed to identify discourses from key texts on TJ. I explore how discourses work to conceptualise and legitimate TJ policies and practices in BiH via a "discourse-theoretic analysis" (DTA) in which discourses—narratives, texts, images—are understood as systems of meaning-production which allow us to understand the world (Shepherd 2006: 20).[1] This approach enables me to identify, problematise, and ultimately contest the ways in which the gendered legacies of the BiH war are represented as particular types of "problems" to be "solved" via the implementation of criminal trials, truth-telling projects, reparations, and so on. This allows an examination of the role of power and knowledge in

constructing understandings of TJ, an exploration of the taken-for-granted assumptions underpinning specific policies and practices, and the implications for victims, survivors, and wider society to be identified. I focus on the *productivity* of TJ discourses, highlighting how the formulation of TJ policies and practices is made possible by discursive practices of representation whereby policymakers, practitioners, and other TJ "experts" construct "the very identities of peoples, states, and regions" through regimes of "truth" and "knowledge" (Doty 1996: 2).

These privileged actors take on the authoritative task of representing a "reality" to be "taken seriously and acted upon" whilst (marginalised) others are "denied equal degrees or kinds of agency" (Doty 1996: 3).

The aim of discourse analysis is to illustrate how "textual and social processes are intrinsically connected and to describe … the implications for this connection" (George quoted in Milliken 1999: 225). Discourse analysis allows us to ask *how-possible* questions, through which we can examine "how meanings are produced and attached to various social subjects and objects, thus constituting particular interpretative dispositions which create certain possibilities and preclude others" (Doty 1993: 298). As Roxanne Doty (1993: 299) has highlighted, these questions enable us to expose the way in which power is "productive of meanings, subject identities, their interrelationships, and a range of imaginable conduct". Discourse analysis can detect how the meanings of gender roles are produced by social discourse and, importantly, how the limitations created can be overcome. Hence, the meaning of the peace and justice that is being (re)constructed in post-conflict Bosnia, and the particular conceptions of "victimhood" and "survival" that are being (re)built, can be highlighted, problematised, and possibly challenged. By analysing the discourses central to the construction of such concepts, the (re)production of gendered forms of injustice, inequality, and insecurity can be confronted, helping to open up possibilities of reimagining peace and justice from the perspectives of survivors.

Our ways of talking are not a neutral reflection of our world, identities, and social relations, but, rather, play an active role in creating and changing this social reality (Phillips and Jorgensen 2002: 1). Discourses, as Campbell (2007: 216) argues, can be understood as "a specific series of representations and practices through which meanings are produced, identities constituted, social relations established, and political and

ethical outcomes made more or less possible". I follow Jennifer Milliken in conceiving discourses: firstly, as *structures of signification* which construct social realities; secondly, as *productive* of the subjects, objects, and practices they define and legitimate, and of a particular "regime of truth" they represent; and, thirdly, as *inherently unstable, historically contingent "grids of intelligibility"* that require work to "articulate" and "rearticulate" their knowledge and identities, to stabilise and fix dominant/hegemonic meanings, and to exclude or silence alternative discourses (Milliken 1999: 229–230). Discourses are therefore not equivalent to language—rather they should be understood both as *structure* ("socio-cultural resources used by people in the construction of meaning about their world and their activities" (Ó Tuathail and Agnew quoted in Laffey and Weldes 2004: 28) and as *practice* (as "structures of meaning-in-use" which manifest themselves in both linguistic and non-linguistic practices (Laffey and Weldes 2004: 28). Importantly, discourses are implicated in sites of institutionalised power-–for example, legal, and political institutions—and are inherently political given their involvement in the (re)production of power, knowledge, interests, identity, and social relations (Laffey and Weldes 2004: 28).

A key focus of my analysis is on how official discourses aim to encourage participation by victims and survivors of wartime violence in post-war justice processes, for example, through testifying as witnesses in criminal trials, participating in national and local consultation exercises, helping investigations into missing persons, and making applications for reparations and for medical and psychological care. Consequently, I pay particular attention to the language and discourses used to convey information on TJ and to justify particular policies and practices. This strategy enables me to show how compliance with official justice mechanisms by victims and survivors might be understood as a response to a particular expression of power or set of normative expectations, as a social practice embedded within a moral framework of responsibility and obligation, and therefore as an intensely political act.[2]

Regarding analytical strategies, three main techniques are utilised. Firstly, *predicate analysis* is used to identify the ways in which predications (verbs, adverbs, and adjectives) construct the meaning of justice in ways that are gender-biased (Milliken 1999: 231–233). Secondly, techniques of *articulation* and *interpellation* are deployed to explain

how a discourse produces reality by selectively constituting some as "privileged storytellers … to whom narrative authority … is granted" whilst excluding others (Campbell, in Milliken 1999: 236). These techniques are also used to explore how discourses render *logical* and *proper* certain justice policies and also come to constitute *common sense* in everyday life (Campbell, in Milliken 1999: 236). *Articulation* refers to the construction of representations of the world via "cultural raw materials" and "linguistic resources" that already make sense within a particular society (Jutta Weldes, quoted in Milliken 1999: 239). *Interpellation* refers to how these representations work to "hail" individuals or interpellate them into particular subject positions within a sign system so that they come to accept these representations as "natural and "accurate" (Milliken 1999: 239). Thirdly, methods such as the *deconstruction* of texts, the *juxtaposition* of different "truths" on justice and peace, and an exploration of *subjugated knowledges* drawn from interviews with women activists are deployed in subsequent empirical chapters to address how reality is "orderly" constructed via discourse but is always inherently contingent and unstable, and open to differing interpretations and understandings of achieving peace and justice (Ibid.: 242–248).

"Sexual Violence and the Triumph of Justice": Exploring Official Discourse

In 2011, the ICTY released a feature-length documentary, *Sexual Violence and the Triumph of Justice,* directed by Rob Barsony (2012).[3] The film was produced by the Tribunal's Outreach Programme to highlight "the Tribunal's historic role in the prosecution and adjudication of wartime sexual violence".[4] It was screened at four public dialogues on obtaining justice and redress for wartime sexual violence,[5] attended amongst others by journalists, government officials, NGO representatives, and survivors, and made publically available via the ICTY's website. The documentary includes interviews with former and current ICTY staff and testimonies from survivors of sexual violence. It begins with a historical overview which foregrounds sexual violence as a recurring feature of many wars, calls attention to the widespread impunity historically enjoyed by perpetrators, and emphasises the Tribunal's role in achieving accountability. The

film then highlights landmark cases related to rape and sexual violence, and outlines the innovative Rules of Procedure and Evidence (RPE) that the ICTY developed to enable these crimes to be successfully prosecuted. The documentary then spotlights the important testimonial roles taken up by survivors in war crimes trials, and examines the impact of the ICTY's work on international and domestic courts through the development of jurisprudence on gender crimes.

Underlying the documentary is a narrative of progress––of the expansion of international law to combat impunity for wartime sexual violence. The film begins by highlighting the widespread impunity that has characterised these crimes—the narrator notes that "women had to silently endure rape, torture and sexual enslavement, despicable acts so commonplace in wars", and states that charges of rape and sexual violence were "barely touched upon" by Nuremburg and Tokyo tribunals that followed World War II.[6] In contrast to this historic impunity, the documentary foregrounds key trials related to rape and sexual violence, and constructs the work of the ICTY, and its sister tribunal the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), as "pioneering" and "ground-breaking" in enabling acts of rape and sexual violence to be charged as war crimes, as crimes against humanity, and as genocide.[7]

The advances made by the Tribunal in recognising wartime rape and sexual violence as serious crimes are highlighted through a review of the precedents set in key trials. The *Tadić* trial is highlighted as the first international war crimes trial involving charges of sexual violence. This case is described as "the first hurdle" for convicting perpetrators of sexual violence. Then, a number of subsequent cases are foregrounded for their role in "expand[ing] the existing legal understanding of the term sexual violence". The case of *Mucić et al.* is highlighted for its role in recognising rape as a form of torture—as both a grave breach of the Geneva Conventions and a violation of the laws and customs of war. In addition, the *Furundžija* trial is mentioned as the first case at the ICTY to focus solely on charges of sexual violence, and for confirming that rape can be prosecuted not only as a crime against humanity (as per the Tribunal's Statute) but crucially also as a grave breach of the Geneva Conventions, a violation of the laws and customs of war, and as an act of genocide if the requisite elements are met. Next, the case of *Kunarac et al.* is noted for its role in broadening the acts that constitute enslavement as a crime against humanity to include

sexual enslavement.[8] Finally, Biljana Plavšić is highlighted as the only woman indicted by the ICTY for war crimes, and who pleaded guilty to one count of persecution that included sexual violence. The overall message communicated by these key cases is that sexual violence in conflict is no longer the subject of non-recognition or misrecognition due to the successful expansion of international criminal law. Indeed, the pioneering work of the Tribunal in prosecuting crimes of sexual violence is underscored by Patricia Viseur Sellers, the former Gender Advisor to the Office of the Prosecutor (OTP). Sellers states that, "There has been more jurisprudence out of our Tribunal in the past 5 years than in the past 500 years from international criminal courts, and what they have contributed overall is basically placing sexual violence into its legal context."

Moreover, the documentary highlights significant steps taken by the ICTY to tackle the historical misrepresentation of survivors of sexual violence in criminal trials. A number of the Tribunal's innovative procedures are introduced, and are described as designed to secure witness testimony. Rule 96 of the ICTY's RPE (on Evidence in Cases of Sexual Assault) is described as "designed to safeguard the integrity of victims of sexual violence by narrowing the permissible defences for such crimes". This rule confirmed that corroboration of a victim's testimony is not required, aimed to significantly constrain the deployment of consent as a defence, and was intended to prohibit evidence of a victim's past sexual conduct.[9] It aims to "adequately protect victims from harassment, embarrassment and humiliation" through defence strategies that "call the reputation of the victim into question" and cause "further distress and emotional damage to the witness".[10] Furthermore, a number of protected witnesses also feature in the documentary. This highlights the use of protective measures under Rules 69 and 75 to protect witness identities and/or to "facilitate the testimony of vulnerable victims and witnesses".[11] In addition, the work of the Victims and Witnesses Section (VWS) is also stressed. The VWS was established to provide counselling and support to victims and witnesses, "particularly in cases of rape and sexual assault".[12] Wendy Lobwein, former VWS Support Officer, notes that "it was always imagined that witnesses would be traumatised, that it would be difficult and that they should have support." She highlights the importance of ICTY policies on childcare, dependent persons, and attendants' allowance to enable witnesses to testify and argues that these policies "grew out of listening to witnesses, to understanding what it was that they needed", and made it "possible for witnesses to testify without further suffering or harm". By highlighting these witness

protection and support measures, the ICTY conveys the message that it listens to and understands the concerns and needs of witnesses, and promotes the understanding that effective procedures are in place to facilitate their testimony and ensure their safety, dignity, and security.

The participation of women as judges, prosecutors, and legal advisors shines through the documentary. Over the years, women have occupied key positions within the ICTY and have worked at all levels of the organisation (Mertus and Hocevar Van Wely 2004: 11; see also Askin 1999; Kuo 2002). Between 1997 and 1999, Gabrielle Kirk McDonald served as ICTY President.[13] Furthermore, two of the six chief prosecutors (Carla Del Ponte and Louise Arbour)[14] and 18% of all past and present permanent judges have been women.[15] Kirk McDonald, Sellers, Arbour, and Judge Florence Mumba are all interviewed in the documentary, whilst Judge Elizabeth Odio Benito features in footage highlighting her role in ensuring that rape charges were included on the indictment of Duško Tadić.[16] Yet, there are notable silences in the documentary's account of women's roles and considerable contribution to the Tribunal. The specialised team established to investigate sexual assaults is not mentioned (see below), and the Gender Advisor role is not specifically explored. The sustained campaigns that victims, survivors, and their representatives from across the former Yugoslavia have undertaken to press for prosecutions and establish much-needed structures of support for witnesses is also not investigated by the documentary.[17] Rather, it is the international community, particularly the UN, which is described as "compelled to take action" in response to "horrific stories of systematic sexual abuse of civilians". For example, the UN Commission on the Status of Women is highlighted in particular for its decision to draft a UN Security Council resolution "creating a new war crime of rape". However, women's organisations and victims' associations in the region have been crucial in providing material, psychological, and moral support to witnesses before, during, and long after they testify in war crimes trials.[18] That this is not fully reflected in the documentary is an injustice.

The important role played by survivors as witnesses in ICTY trials is however emphasised. As the narrator points out, "unravelling the complexities of sexual violence during the armed conflict in the former Yugoslavia was only possible through the determination of those who came forward to tell their stories." The bravery that women survivors display in facing their perpetrators in the courtroom is highlighted by former Deputy Prosecutor David Tolbert. As he argues, "these women primarily are enormously courageous to come and testify under very difficult

conditions because … rape is the most personal of crimes and you sit in the courtroom across from the person who raped you." However, survivors' voices feature solely through footage of their trial testimonies rather than through interviews, with the result that their experiences of victimisation are emphasised whilst their capacity for agency is downplayed.

The documentary opens with the testimony of Grozdana Ćećez during the *Mucić et al.* trial. Her words emphasise her helplessness and passivity as she was raped in a detention centre: "I could not do anything I was lying there and he was raping me. [...] I had no way of defending myself. I couldn't understand what was going on, what was happening to me. I was crying. I said: My God, what have I come to live through?" Later, Mrs. Ćećez is again featured, with her testimony emphasising rape as a shameful experience and stressing its enduring impact on her life—"he trampled on my pride and I will never be able to be the woman that I was." Subsequently, Witness 87, testifying in the trial of *Kunarac et al.* speaks of long-lasting trauma: "I think that for the whole of my life, I will have thoughts of that and feel the pain that I felt then and still feel. That will never go away."

The testimonies selected rightly highlight the terrifying experience of rape and sexual violence, and the enduring impact on the lives of survivors. However, the exclusive focus on female victimisation overlooks the strategies women deployed to cope with, survive, and even resist the numerous forms of violence they were subjected to.[19] The agency of rape survivors and the heterogeneity of their war experiences are written out. Rather, they are represented as acted upon by others—firstly by the perpetrator through the act of rape, and secondly by ICTY staff who extract their testimony for the purpose of securing convictions.[20] This failure to highlight survivors' capacity to demonstrate agency and resistance reinforces stereotypical understandings of rape victims as helpless, passive, and lacking in agency, and also strengthens the commonly held assumption that rape is always productive of long-term trauma.[21] It is unfortunate, for example, that the documentary did not incorporate the testimony of Witness 95, who fearlessly constructed herself in the trial of *Kunarac et al.* as "dignified and proud" despite feeling "awful, dreadful, [and] helpless" as a result of the multiple rapes she was subjected to.[22] She defiantly refused to take up the subject position of the powerless rape victim, stating that in spite of the violence perpetrated against her she "simply … did not want to be subdued".[23] It is also regrettable that the documentary fails to incorporate interviews with survivors in the same manner as ICTY staff.

There are several survivors who have campaigned publicly on the issue of achieving justice for survivors of wartime rape and sexual violence. The failure to include their views means that only ICTY staff members are shown to possess "authoritative voices" on the significance and impact of the Tribunal whilst survivors are relegated to narrating experiences of victimisation.

Overall, the documentary film celebrates the ICTY's success in securing prosecutions and convictions for crimes of sexual violence. It works to encourage survivors of wartime rape and sexual violence, and their communities, to *embrace* or *accept* the paradigm of retributive justice in a positive light, by convincing them that achieving accountability through criminal trials results in the "triumph of justice" and by reassuring them that adequate protection and support is available for those who testify. Unfortunately, however, the ICTY's triumphant narrative of progress is constructed around a predominantly passive notion of victimhood that fails to adequately capture the capacity for survivors of sexual violence to articulate agency and even resistance in response to victimisation. Furthermore, the message that justice has triumphed rings hollow in post-conflict Bosnia where many survivors are still waiting for their perpetrators to be brought to trial. As I outline below, the justice delivered by the ICTY has offered only partial forms of recognition and representation, and limited modes of redistribution to survivors of sexual violence. Against this background, it is notable that the ICTY chose a less triumphant title for the Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian language version, naming the documentary *The End of Impunity: Sexual Violence Before the Tribunal*. This reflects locally held understandings that whilst complete impunity for crimes of sexual violence has ended, justice for many survivors has yet to come.

Locating and Identifying Missing Persons: ICMP's Guide for Families

In this section, I turn to the issue of missing persons. I examine the key publication *Locating and Identifying Missing Persons: A Guide for Families in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (n.d.), published by ICMP (hereinafter: ICMP Guide). This Guide was distributed to delegates at the conference on *The Missing, Memory, and Sites of Conscience* I attended in Sarajevo in May 2011, and is also available online.[24] I explore how the process of locating, recovering, and identifying missing persons is communicated by ICMP

as a reliable and effective method of dealing with this particular legacy of the war, through discursive strategies that place a stress firstly on the objectivity of the institutions involved and secondly on the scientific nature of this work. I highlight that ICMP constitutes families of the missing as agential subjects, opening up space for survivors to take up active roles.

The ICMP Guide is "designed to provide an overview of how the issue of persons missing from the 1992–1995 armed conflicts is dealt with in Bosnia and Herzegovina", by outlining the roles of key institutions involved in searching for missing persons, by informing relatives of the missing about their legal rights, and by explaining how the process of locating, recovering and identifying missing persons is managed (ICMP Guide n.d.: 3). The guide begins with a "Question and Answer Guide". This answers many of the questions that ICMP received during its 2011 outreach project[25] relating to key processes and timelines, as well as the roles of local and international institutions, of family associations and of civil society. An explanation is provided of the method used to conduct DNA-led identifications, and of the course of actions undertaken following the discovery of a possible grave site through to confirmation of identity through DNA. Instructions are provided for using ICMP's "Online Inquiry Center", an interactive search engine which families can use to register a missing relative with ICMP and to access information regarding the identification process. Finally, contact information for the relevant agencies engaged in the issue of missing persons is provided at the end of the guide. The guide highlights that the approach to resolving the fate of missing persons in Bosnia is "unique" yet "complex" since it entails the use of DNA technology and "involves the courts, specialized state level institutions and specific laws" in order to provide "the most effective solution to the issue" (ICMP Guide n.d.: 4). As a result, the guide aims "to provide a resource for families of the missing; to enable them to make informed decisions and have access to as much information as possible" on the process of locating, recovering, and identifying missing persons (ICMP Guide n.d.: 4).

A key discursive strategy used in the guide is the representation of the exhumation, recovery, and DNA-identification process as generating undisputed facts, or "forensic truth",[26] regarding the fate of missing persons. Throughout, there is a stress firstly on the objectivity of the actors involved and secondly on the scientific nature of the process. This helps to construct ICMP and other official institutions mentioned in the guide as

possessing the most—and perhaps the only—authoritative voices on the issue of missing persons.

Firstly, as regards objectivity, the impartiality of Bosnia's Missing Persons Institute (MPI), for example, is emphasised. MPI is described as "an independent state-level institution … [which] operates on principles of impartiality and non-discrimination on the basis of ethnic affiliation, gender, race, language, religion, political or other beliefs, social origin, financial status, or the victims' roles in armed conflicts or other hostilities" (ICMP Guide n.d.: 6). The functions of MPI's governance, management, and supervisory bodies—Steering Board, Board of Directors, and Supervisory Board—are also outlined, with emphasis placed on the Institute's "good governance and equal treatment of all missing persons", the professional qualifications possessed by members of these bodies, and the equal representation of Bosnia's constituent peoples (ICMP Guide n.d.: 7). In this way, MPI is represented as a body characterised by both professionalism and equality, as an institution in which all citizens of BiH, regardless of their ethno-national or other identity, can place their trust.

Secondly, the scientific manner in which the fate of missing persons is being resolved is constructed through an emphasis on the "advanced forensic technology" and other expertise provided by ICMP to locate, recover, and identify the mortal remains of missing persons (ICMP Guide n.d.: 4). In relation to the identification of missing persons, the reader is told that ICMP has "pioneered a unique high throughput DNA-led process" and deploys both forensic archaeology and anthropology to locate, exhume, and identify the missing (ICMP Guide n.d.: 10). It is stressed that ICMP's DNA laboratory system is "internationally accredited to very high standards (IS0 17025)" and undergoes "rigorous" technical inspections and reviews of methods and quality control procedures (ICMP Guide n.d.: 10).[27] Oversight of ICMP's Forensic Science Division is provided by an external Forensic Science Steering Committee, which consists of "some of the world's most prominent forensic scientists" (ICMP Guide n.d.: 10). As regards locating and exhuming mortal remains, the guide states that ICMP deploys "advanced techniques in forensic archaeology" and provides technical assistance including mapping, digital photography, and documentation of the exhumation process in order to ensure that mass graves and other clandestine sites are properly excavated (ICMP Guide n.d.: 10). Significant attention is paid to the role of DNA in the identification process. Indeed the word "DNA" (or DNA-led, DNA-based) appears 119 times throughout the 20-page report, a frequency

much higher than other frequently used terms.[28] The reliability of DNA-led identification is stressed—it is emphasised that "DNA is accepted worldwide as one of the most reliable scientific methods for identifying missing persons" and is regarded as more reliable than "personal recognition or circumstantial evidence" since it "contains unique identifying characteristics even when no other evidence is present" (ICMP Guide n.d.: 11). Three pages are devoted to explaining the nature and use of DNA, providing information on how missing persons are identified by matching the DNA obtained from bone samples with DNA obtained from blood samples of surviving family members (ICMP Guide n.d.: 13–15).

In this way, ICMP's guide works to construct ICMP and MPI as authoritative institutions through an emphasis on objectivity and an appeal to science. Other forms of knowledge or information (e.g. the lay knowledge developed by family members derived from lived experience) which may contradict this account may therefore be discounted as biased, irrational, or incorrect. However, the stress on objectivity disguises the fact that the search for missing persons has been impeded by political obstructionism, divisive ethno-nationalist rhetoric, and distrust.[29] Furthermore, the emphasis on the scientific nature of the DNA-led process masks the fact that many misidentifications were made through traditional methods of identification in place prior to the introduction of DNA testing.[30]

Significantly, the Guide encourages relatives of missing persons to take on active roles in the process of locating, recovering, and identifying the missing. Whilst families may rely on institutions such as ICMP to locate and identify their missing loved ones, ICMP also relies on families to provide blood samples so that identifications can be conducted. Unlike the ICTY's *Triumph of Justice* documentary, the active role that survivors are expected to play in this particular TJ process is explicitly recognised. Families of missing persons are constructed as rights-bearing subjects who have been bestowed a number of rights under BiH Law on Missing Persons (ICMP Guide n.d.: 9), which I examine in detail below. Attached to these rights are the obligations of BiH state and entity-level institutions to provide families of the missing and relevant institutions involved in locating missing persons with "all available information"; and to provide "all necessary assistance to improve the process of locating and identification and … of resolving cases of disappearances" (ICMP Guide n.d.: 9). Furthermore, the guide acknowledges the key role played by family associations of missing persons in gathering information about missing persons; providing counselling and advice to families; lobbying government

bodies and institutions to accelerate and improve the locating and identification process; and raising awareness within society of the issue of missing persons (ICMP Guide n.d.: 16). It also points out that six representatives of family associations have taken up active roles in the MPI's Advisory Board, thereby helping "to ensure that the interests of family members are taken into consideration by the Missing Persons Institute" (ICMP Guide n.d.: 7). Board members, we are told, provide a link between the MPI and family associations, monitor MPI activities and advise MPI's governing bodies, and publicly promote the issue of missing persons and propose projects and initiatives (ICMP Guide n.d.: 7–8). In this way, representatives of family associations, many of whom are women, are constructed as highly significant actors engaged in the difficult process of finding and identifying the missing.

In contrast to ICTY discourse, ICMP does not depict survivors of wartime violence as passive victims in need of international protection and support. Instead, it recognises their capacity to take up formal and informal roles in the process of locating, recovering, and identifying missing persons. Rather than marginalising their agency, ICMP affirms the importance of their participation and representation, thereby opening up space for relatives of the missing to actively claim advocacy, monitoring, advisory, lobbying, and other roles. This is clearly commendable, and represents a step forward when compared with the narrow notion of agency articulated in ICTY discourse. Nevertheless, the guide fails to highlight the partial and constrained nature of survivors' agency, as well as the lived experience of searching for one's loved ones, factors which influence how survivors respond to calls to take up active roles in clarifying the fate and whereabouts of the missing. These aspects are explored in detail in Chapter 6. Next, I evaluate the success of these top-down justice mechanisms implemented by ICTY and ICMP in providing gender justice for women impacted by armed conflict in BiH, with reference to the theoretical framework set out in Chapter 3.

Assessing Gender Justice from Above: Disrupting the Triumphant Narrative

Justice as Recognition

The ICTY has undertaken a number of significant steps to advance justice as recognition for survivors of sexual violence. In particular, the Tribunal significantly developed substantive international criminal law governing sexual violence offences (Campbell 2007: 415),[31] and introduced

innovative procedural and evidential rules geared towards enabling victim testimony. Prior to the establishment of the ICTY and ICTR, sexual violence in conflict was misrecognised as an "attack on women's honour".[32] This interpretation reinforced the notion of women as "men's property" (Charlesworth 1999: 386) and failed to accurately characterise sexual assaults as violent offences (Engle 2005: 779). In contrast, the ICTY, alongside the ICTR, "established the legal basis of these crimes, showed that they were an integral part of the illegal conduct of these conflicts and that they could be successfully prosecuted" (Campbell 2016: 227).[33]

The ICTY Statute provided a number of legal grounds—genocide, crimes against humanity, and grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions—with which to prosecute crimes of sexual violence (Haddad 2011: 110 and 118–119). Rape was explicitly enumerated as one of the constituent acts of crimes against humanity under Article 5(g)[34]—the first time that sexual violence was expressly recognised in the statute of an international tribunal (de Brouwer 2005: 16). Over the years, acts of sexual violence were charged not only as crimes against humanity, but also as forming elements of other crimes (Baig et al. 2016). The OTP has sought to accurately characterise and contextualise the different manifestations of sexual violence perpetrated in conflict, firstly by drawing on a range of crime categories, and secondly by selecting the most appropriate mode of liability for charging sexual violence offences (Goy et al. 2016). By prosecuting sexual violence using stand-alone charges (such as rape as a crime against humanity) but also under the "umbrella" of general crime categories (such as persecution) where appropriate, the OTP sought to make this violence visible as "part of a connected series of violent acts" (Jarvis 2016: 7). General crime categories that do not explicitly reference sexual violence have been reconceptualised as inclusive of gender-based harms (Jarvis and Nabti 2016: 90–91; Baig et al. 2016).

Nevertheless, the Tribunal has been constrained in its capacity to provide a comprehensive account of sexual violence crimes perpetrated during the BiH conflict. The judgements rendered by the ICTY document that sexual violence was perpetrated across numerous geographical locations (Nabti and Verrall 2016)[35]; within a variety of conflict-related settings; committed by a range of perpetrators; against victims both female and male, young and old; and deployed as a means to threaten or punish victims, to extract information, impart terror or shame, or de-humanise and degrade a particular group (e.g. targeted on ethnic lines) (Verrall 2016).[36] However, there have been relatively few prosecutions and convictions

secured for sexual violence offences in comparison with their prevalence during the war.[37] In addition, since the ICTY focuses on establishing individual criminal responsibility of the accused rather than providing a comprehensive historical record, the judgements rendered represent merely a "snapshot" of distinct incidents charged rather than a comprehensive picture of the prevalence and characteristics of sexual violence committed (Verrall 2016: 300).

Furthermore, as a number of scholars have highlighted, there are notable gaps in the recognition of particular patterns of sexual violence and of specific groups of victims/survivors. Firstly, sexual violence committed in certain geographical areas (e.g. Foča and Prijedor) has received comparatively greater focus than other locations (e.g. Sarajevo and Višegrad) (Verrall 2016). Secondly, at least in the ICTY's early years, sexual assaults against male victims were charged disproportionately more than those involving female victims (Campbell 2007: 422–427). Consequently, the ICTY documentary's focus on sexual violence against men and boys in the Tadić case reflects rather than challenges the hierarchical manner in which male sexual violence was charged compared to female sexual violence.[38] Thirdly, the differential distribution of offence categories charged at ICTY produced gendered patterns of testimony, whereby women disproportionately testified to sexual violence while men testified to a broad range of criminal conduct (Campbell 2007: 425–427). Fourthly, certain types of charges, such as forced pregnancy, are noticeably absent, while certain modes of liability, such as planning, ordering, or instigating acts of sexual violence, are largely omitted from ICTY case law (Verrall 2016: 329–330). Fifthly, prosecutions have unduly focused on the widespread, systematic, or strategic use of sexual violence in conflict, at the expense of sexual assaults perpetrated on a less extensive scale or in more "opportunistic" manner (Jarvis and Vigneswaran 2016). Finally, the connections between crimes of sexual violence and other forms of gender-based violence in conflict are not adequately captured by the ICTY's jurisprudence (Campbell 2016: 228–229).

Sexual violence prosecutions have been hampered by inadequate investigations; the failure to accurately characterise and include sexual violence offences on indictments; withdrawal of sexual violence charges during the pre-trial phase; and insufficient evidence of sexual violence provided at trial (Jarvis and Vigneswaran 2016). The perpetuation of gendered stereotypes and misconceptions relating to wartime violence (Jarvis and Vigneswaran 2016) and presence of structural impediments have also

constituted significant barriers (Jarvis and Vigneswaran 2016; Jarvis and Nabti 2016).[39] Overall, the ICTY has extended only partial and largely affirmative forms of recognition to survivors of sexual violence.

Achieving justice as recognition for wartime disappearances has also proven challenging. The state-level Law on Missing Persons (which came into force in 2004) established the MPI to oversee the process of clarifying the fate of missing persons, and provides for a Fund for Support to the Families of Missing Persons (hereinafter: BiH Support Fund) as well as a centralised database of all persons who went missing during the conflict. The Law established the legal definition of a missing person.[40] It emphasises the rights of families of missing persons to know the fate and whereabouts of their missing relatives,[41] and lays out principles for improving the tracing process. Articles 4–6 outline the ongoing obligations of BiH authorities to cooperate, provide, and exchange information with relevant institutions and officials, as well as "to give all necessary assistance to improve the tracing process and the process of resolving cases of disappearances of persons in/from Bosnia and Herzegovina".[42] Article 21 provides for the creation of a centralised database by MPI, which would encompass all records held by entity-level agencies and institutions, by associations of families of the missing, and by international organisations such as ICMP and ICRC.[43] It is intended that this database "will be subject to a rigorous verification process that will ensure its accuracy and eliminate political manipulation of numbers of missing persons".[44] This law has been interpreted as evidence of the commitment of BiH authorities to resolve the issue of missing persons, and to uphold the rights of their relatives (Crettol and La Rosa 2006: 357).

The task of locating, recovering, and identifying Bosnia's missing is a slow and complicated process, however. Significant efforts were made by perpetrators to cover up the evidence of their crimes, making the task of ascertaining the fate and whereabouts of disappeared persons very difficult.[45] Locating their remains relies largely on witness reports, perpetrators providing information, or information being provided by prosecutors, meaning that many missing persons will never be found (ICMP Guide n.d.: 12). The lack of accurate information about locations of individual and mass graves[46] remains a key barrier—"an extremely narrow circle of people possess information … mainly the perpetrators and order-issuing authorities of mass crimes".[47] Recovering and identifying their remains is also extremely challenging. Many were buried in mass graves located in mines, quarries, forests, and rivers which are difficult to access, and often

mined. Furthermore, the mortal remains of many victims were exhumed after their initial burial and re-buried in a number of secondary and tertiary grave sites, resulting in body parts being disarticulated and scattered across multiple mass graves.[48] Many grave sites therefore contain "co-mingled" body parts, which must be re-associated and identified using forensic technology.[49] Furthermore, not all missing persons are identifiable[50]—either because DNA cannot be extracted from the mortal remains, or because blood samples from surviving relatives are not available for DNA comparison (ICMP Guide n.d.: 12). Furthermore, false identifications were made in the past when traditional methods were used to identify mortal remains. This situation not only fosters feelings of uncertainty among families whose relatives have been identified following traditional identification, but also prevents other remains that have already been located and exhumed from being identified through DNA (ICMP 2014: 63).

Moreover, the search for missing persons has been "plagued by incessant political obstruction, lack of cooperation between ethnic commissions, jurisdiction issues and information manipulation" (Alić 2008). The RS Operative Team for Missing Persons (hereinafter "Operative Team") was established in Republika Srpska soon after the MPI became operational, and has accused MPI of being both politicised and biased against Bosnian Serbs. The Head of the Operative Team has criticised the MPI's slow progress in carrying out exhumations and identifications, claiming that an average of only 25 Bosnian Serb bodies are now being identified each year, compared to 320 before the MPI was operational.[51] The creation of the Operative Team "has reopened past conflicts between institutions dealing with tracing missing persons … [thereby] fostering a climate of mistrust, overall confusion and animosity" (TRIAL 2010: 18). A centralised database has yet to be finalised.[52] The total number of missing persons therefore remains "a highly politicized and controversial issue".[53] Furthermore, relevant governmental authorities have in many cases failed to provide necessary information, and sign bilateral agreements/protocols on regional cooperation which would enable missing persons to be traced across the region of the former Yugoslavia (ICMP 2014: 135–136).

In spite of these difficulties, by July 2014, the remains of over 25,000 missing persons, from a total of the 31,500 reported missing, had been located (ICMP 2014: 11). Of these, almost 23,000 were successfully identified (ICMP 2014: 64).[54] Nevertheless, the fate and whereabouts of 9,000 unaccounted persons remain unclear (ICMP 2014: 12).

Furthermore, criminal trials have been hampered by a large backlog of cases, inadequate witness protection and support,[55] and the failure to adequately codify the crime of enforced disappearance under domestic criminal legislation, which contributes towards impunity.[56]

Justice as Redistribution

Achieving the gender justice envisaged in Fraser's tripartite model requires extensive state-sponsored, collective measures to achieve the significant redistribution of material resources (Durbach and Chappell 2014). It also entails the reversal of neo-liberal marketisation policies that prioritise privatisation and free-market reform processes over BiH citizens' economic rights and needs (e.g. Donais 2005). Overall, gender justice requires structural transformations geared towards improving the social status of war-affected women.

However, BiH lacks a state-wide law and comprehensive reparations strategy which would uphold the rights of all survivors of SGBV to measures of restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction, and guarantees of non-repetition.[57] At the international level, the ICTY Statute and RPE provide for the restitution of property (or proceeds thereof) to their rightful owners.[58] Yet, the Tribunal has never exercised its power to order restitution (Baig 2016: 290). Furthermore, the ICTY has no capacity to provide compensation, but instead directs victims to submit claims for injuries sustained to national courts or other competent bodies.[59] This has resulted in very few compensation claims being requested by victims on the basis of ICTY judgements (Baig 2016: 290).

At the domestic level, the Criminal Procedures Code of BiH permits victims to make financial claims through criminal proceedings; however, until very recently, prosecutors and judges have not utilised this provision in practice.[60] Instead, victims have been instructed that they may take civil action to pursue claims under property law (TRIAL 2011: 37–38). However, there are multiple barriers to pursuing civil suits, including the enforcement of statutes of limitations; the lack of identity protection in civil courts; the use of pseudonyms for victims in criminal proceedings; and the prohibitive cost of initiating civil claims in the absence of free legal aid (TRIAL International 2016). The state-level Law on Missing Persons does reinforce the right to reparations. Article 11 establishes that family members "who were supported by the missing person and who are in need of support, are entitled to monthly financial support".[61] Article 18 also grants

families a number of other rights—to temporary disposal of the property of the missing person; coverage of funeral expenses; priority in employment and education of children; health protection; and the right to mark the place of burial and exhumation of missing persons.[62] In addition, Article 19 obliges authorities to consider on a priority basis requests by unions or associations of families of missing persons to financial and technical support.[63] Nevertheless, the BiH Support Fund has not yet been established due to disagreements between entity-level governments over its location and financing.[64] As a result, financial support is not yet available. No comprehensive programme has been implemented to provide either survivors of wartime sexual violence or families of the missing across BiH with equal access to reparation.

Entity-level legislation does enable survivors of wartime rape and families of missing persons to apply for financial and material support (see also Hronesova 2016). Within the Federation, the *Law on Principles of Social Protection, Protection of all Civilian Victims of War and Protection of Families with Children of the Federation of BiH* (hereinafter the FBiH Law on Social Protection) explicitly recognises victims of sexual violence as a separate category of civilian victims of war,[65] entitling them to a monthly pension of 540 KM (€276) and other benefits such as priority in employment, housing, and support in accessing healthcare.[66] Within the RS, the *Law on the Protection of Civilian Victims of War in Republika Srpska* (hereinafter RS Law on Social Protection) provides financial and material assistance to civilian victims who have suffered at least 60% bodily harm, entitling survivors to between 100 and 350 KM (€52 to €179) depending on the level of their bodily injury.[67] Families of missing persons can also apply for support under the *FBiH and RS Laws on Social Protection*—if their missing relatives were civilian victims of war—or under the *Law on the Rights of Demobilized Soldiers and Their Families of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina* or the *Law on the Rights of Veterans, Military Disabled and Families of Killed Soldiers of Republika Srpska*—if their missing relatives were soldiers (TRIAL 2010: 53, footnotes 143 and 144).

These laws provide a limited measure of satisfaction since they bestow recognition of the harms suffered by survivors and of the ongoing impact on their lives, and provide limited measures of compensation. However, they are highly problematic because they construct hierarchies of suffering, care, and support, and fail to provide effective redress. Firstly, disabled war veterans are privileged over civilian victims of war in both the FBiH and the RS—with the latter entitled to significantly lower allowances (70%

of veterans' allowances) and subject to a higher threshold of harm to qualify for benefits (60% rather than 20% bodily damage). This preferential treatment of war veterans, the vast majority of whom are men, is one example of how "institutionalized, androcentric value patterns" (Fraser 2007: 26) become codified in post-war legislation.

Secondly, survivors of rape living in the Federation are privileged over those living in Republika Srpska. Within the Federation, survivors of rape and sexual violence are explicitly recognised as war victims without requiring that they demonstrate physical damage. In Republika Srpska, 60% bodily damage must be proven and psychological harms are not considered (TRIAL 2011: 29). Consequently, many survivors are not eligible for assistance.[68] In addition, survivors in the RS receive a much lower pension, and are not entitled to preferential treatment in employment or to psychological and legal assistance as in the Federation (TRIAL 2011: 43). The low pension available in Republika Srpska is not sufficient to cover the basic needs of survivors.[69] Such legislation "institutionalises sexist maldistribution" by denying survivors the resources required to participate as equals in society (Fraser 2007: 28). It demonstrates how maldistribution is produced through the boundaries of political community, which work to exclude particular groups and individuals from being entitled to make claims for just distribution (Fraser 2005: 7).

Thirdly, there are serious shortcomings in implementation. In the RS, an application deadline of 31 January 2007 was imposed, excluding many who were unable to submit applications in time.[70] Sexual violence survivors have also struggled to obtain the necessary medical documentation to support their application.[71] In the Federation, survivors must provide medical documentation dating no later than 1997 plus a certificate from a relevant NGO. However, many had not obtained medical documentation by 1997.[72] By 2012, only 707 of the estimated 20,000–50,000 victims of wartime rape and sexual violence had registered themselves as civilian victims of war.[73] Relatives of missing persons have also been forced to obtain a decision from local courts declaring their relatives dead in order to qualify for support under entity laws (TRIAL 2010: 59). These examples highlight how the decision-making rules by which claims are debated and adjudicated (Fraser 2005: 7) deny claimants just redistribution. In addition, although civilian victims of war in the Federation can claim priority in the allocation of housing and employment, this is not implemented in practice.[74] Moreover, many survivors have been unable to access medical and psychological care, which

are key aspects of rehabilitation. Some are living in communities where there is limited access to mental health services, and others cannot afford to pay for medicines and healthcare (Amnesty 2009: 52–57).

Justice as Representation

In addition to recognition and redistribution, achieving gender justice also entails foregrounding women's voices, experiences, interests, and concerns in justice processes and institutions (Fraser 2005: 7, 2008: 14), through meaningful participation and representation. Gender justice requires responding to "ordinary-political misrepresentation"—whereby gender-blind rules obstruct equal participation in justice processes—and addressing injustices of misframing—whereby political boundaries deny specific individuals and groups the opportunity to press claims for justice (Fraser 2008: 18–19). As highlighted above, the process of locating, recovering, and identifying missing persons has provided substantive opportunities for women to actively participate in resolving the issue of wartime disappearance, particularly through involvement in associations of families of missing persons.[75] In contrast, criminal trials have extended only limited modes of participation and representation to survivors of sexual violence.

The ICTY has undertaken a number of significant steps to address the historical marginalisation of women and of SGBV survivors by international legal institutions.[76] Realising that gender expertise was crucial for conducting effective sexual violence investigations and prosecutions, the OTP incorporated dedicated mechanisms to focus attention, resources, and policy on these crimes (Jarvis and Nabti 2016: 74–79; see also: Goldstone and Dehon 2003: 123; Goldstone 2002: 280; Kuo 2002: 310). Chief Prosecutor Richard Goldstone appointed Patricia Viseur Sellers as Legal Advisor for Gender Issues in 1994. Sellers was tasked with providing expertise on gender issues within the Tribunal and with developing strategies for investigating and prosecuting sexual assaults (Goldstone 2002: 282; Kuo 2002: 310; Sellers 2009: 307). A specialised team was also established in 1995 under Nancy Paterson's leadership to investigate sexual assaults in Eastern BiH (Sellers 2009: 9; Mertus and Hocevar Van Wely 2004: 12; Jarvis and Nabti 2016: 76). Other individuals and groups within the OTP acted as focal points for sexual violence (Jarvis and Nabti 2016: 77).

Moreover, the ICTY worked to secure witness testimony, particularly from survivors of sexual violence, providing support and protection measures that have enabled survivors to participate as witnesses in criminal trials. The VWS was established to provide counselling and support to victims and witnesses, "particularly in cases of rape and sexual assault".[77] "[D]ue consideration" was to be given "to the employment of qualified women" in the appointment of staff to the VWS.[78] On this basis, Sellers and Okuizumi (1997: 50) argue that Rule 34 of the ICTY's RPE (on the Victims and Witnesses Section) attended both to the needs of victims and witnesses of sexual assault and to the goal of achieving a "gender-balanced" staff. In addition, as highlighted above, Rules 69, 75, and 96 aim to encourage victim witnesses to come forward, by providing a "receptive theater" in which to testify (Londras 2010: 302).

Partly as a result of these measures, women and survivors of sexual violence have taken on significant roles as witnesses in ICTY trials, albeit in lesser numbers than men. As of mid-2015, 13% of the total 4,650 witnesses to testify over the years are women.[79] Of these, a disproportionate number have testified to sexual violence either against themselves or others (University of North Texas & Victims and Witness Section 2016: 123). Criminal trials have created opportunities for *some* survivors of wartime violence to achieve public recognition of their suffering, to help bring "closure" and "healing" through "cathartic" acts of testimony, to confront perpetrators by publicly accusing them of their crimes, to honour the memory of those who suffered similar atrocities, and ultimately to see perpetrators held accountable for the atrocities they committed (Mertus 2004: 111–112). In a rare study of Bosnian women's experiences of testifying about wartime sexual violence before the ICTY and BiH War Crimes Chamber, multiple motivations for testifying were articulated (Mischkowski and Mlinarević 2009: 50–64). The majority of women felt it was important to testify (84%), and stated that they had done so in order to ensure that perpetrators were punished (92%), to prevent re-occurrence and thereby spare other women and girls from suffering similar experiences (73%), to prove that they were victimised (67%), to help uncover the truth about violence perpetrated against women in wartime (60%), to honour other women who were also sexually assaulted (68%), and to fulfil promises made to themselves and others (60%) (Mischkowski and Mlinarević 2009: 50–64).

However, in addition to the barriers mentioned above, the full and meaningful participation and representation of sexual violence survivors at the ICTY was obstructed by potential witnesses experiencing trauma and fatigue, unfamiliarity with the court process, inadequate support structures, threats to their security and/or status in community, and desire to shield their family (including children) from disclosure (Jarvis and Vigneswaran 2016: 43).[80] Failure to attend to redistributive justice, particularly victims' rights to compensation, also discouraged survivors from testifying (Brammertz et al. 2016: 364). The under-representation of women within the OTP, and propensity of male investigators and prosecutors to seek out male witnesses and feel less comfortable interviewing female sexual violence victims (Jarvis and Nabti 2016: 81), also resulted in lower rates of survivor participation in criminal proceedings. Survivors were also denied rights to full participation as victims in criminal proceedings, and may participate in proceedings in the more limited role of witnesses, and then only by invitation from one of the parties to trial. They are not kept informed of proceedings, and may not have a lawyer present at their hearing (De Brouwer 2005: 282).

Furthermore, a number of critiques have emerged regarding the suitability and adequacy of criminal trials to provide justice for survivors of rape and sexual violence in particular. It has been pointed out by feminist scholars that many survivors find testifying in the adversarial settings of post-conflict trials to be a particularly disempowering, dehumanising, and re-traumatising experience, thus troubling assumptions about the therapeutic benefits of testimony (Mertus 2004). When narrating their experiences of sexual violence, witnesses are constrained by rules of evidence and procedure, and by narrow legal definitions of rape, preventing survivors from speaking about their pain and suffering in their own terms (Mertus 2004: 116–118; see also Franke 2006, Staggs Kelsall and Stepakoff 2007). As Mischkowski and Mlinarević (2009: 50–64) reveal, although some survivors find relief through testimony, experience moments of satisfaction, and relish the opportunity to confront perpetrators in the courtroom, the majority (65% of those questioned) described the experience of testifying in court as traumatic and stressful. International legal rules and practices frequently reflect and reinforce gendered hierarchies of power, constructing survivors of wartime sexual violence as helpless, feminised victims (Campbell 2007;

Mertus 2004), whose suffering symbolises communal narratives of pain (Franke 2006).

It is against this background that a BiH-wide *Programme for Victims of Wartime Rape, Sexual Abuse and Torture and Their Families in BiH* was being devised whilst I undertook fieldwork in 2011–2012. A policy framework was drafted by BiH Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees, with financial and technical support from UNFPA. It seeks to harmonise existing legal provisions across BiH, its entities, and cantons, and aims to improve access to legal aid, health services, and social services for survivors. The Programme aims to address the oversights and shortcomings of existing policies and practices, and aspires to secure equal and effective access to justice and to reparations across the country, in addition to raising public awareness of the issues facing survivors.[81] Furthermore, a Transitional Justice Strategy for BiH was drafted in 2012, partly in response to the problems relating to the issue of missing persons. This Strategy aims to accelerate the process of locating, recovering, and identifying missing persons by: increasing the technical and professional capacity of key institutions involved (namely MPI and the police); supporting the full implementation of the Law on Missing Persons; amending Bosnia's criminal codes to adequately codify the crime of enforced disappearance; signing bilateral agreements/protocols to regulate regional cooperation on tracing missing persons; and by providing financial and technical support to associations of families of missing persons to enable their active participation in resolving the fate and whereabouts of their loved ones.[82] At the time of writing, both these initiatives await approval by state and entity-level governments, but remain delayed by ongoing political deadlock. This highlights the difficulty of reimagining justice in a conflicted society where actors (in this case state-level ministries and local-level NGOs) seeking more gender-equitable forms of economic redistribution clash with the interests of an ethno-national political elite (backed by consociational forms of political representation) seeking to defend group specificity.[83]

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a discourse analysis of a range of documentary material that women in Bosnia receive or encounter in their interactions with transitional justice institutions. My analysis highlighted how transitional justice is conceptualised and legitimised by key policymakers and

practitioners in their communications with victims, and survivors, and particularly women. It examined how women in Bosnia are being encouraged as victims, as survivors, and/or as activists to embrace or accept particular transitional justice policies and practices in a positive light, or alternatively to conform to or comply with the expectations of policymakers and practitioners. TJ mechanisms open up, or alternatively close down, opportunities for women to develop and assert agency and resistance in the aftermath of trauma. As is shown in subsequent emprical chapters, activist narratives fall within a wide spectrum of responses ranging from acceptance and compliance, through ambivalence, towards outright rejection and resistance. The remainder of this study examines the ways in which women are, on the one hand, drawn towards and at times feel empowered by, TJ discourses and practices, or, on the other hand, feel oppressed by, or seek to resist from, these projects. Women who have experienced, witnessed, and survived various forms of wartime violence are not passive victims of war who are entirely disempowered by their experiences and merely acted upon by masculinist political and social institutions. Neither are they superheroines of peacebuilding projects with the (innate) capacity to resist and overcome numerous kinds of violence, domination, inequality, and oppression. These two essentialist stereotypes of victimhood and heroism[84] are commonly drawn on to make sense of women's relationship to war and peace. Yet, these stereotypes are inadequate for understanding the multiple and contradictory subject positions taken up by women in conflict-affected settings and their capacities to demonstrate agency and resistance. Women in (post-)conflict contexts should be recognised for their abilities to foster and deploy different modes of agency—in varying degrees and within different temporal, relational, and institutional contexts—as they attempt to widen access to justice, to challenge existing inequalities, and to articulate new meanings of justice in order to improve the lives of those marked by war.

Notes

1. Shepherd here draws on the work of Jacob Torfing who uses the term "discourse-theoretical analysis" to distinguish the analytical strategies employed by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, and Michel Foucault, from the work of Critical Discourse Analysis scholars such as Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and Teun van Dijk.

2. This argument is made by Howson (1999: 402) on women's compliance with cervical screening. Compliance with TJ policies might be seen in a similar light as a response to a technology of surveillance.
3. A DVD copy obtained from the ICTY is held on file with author; also available online at http://www.icty.org/sid/10949 (accessed 7 January 2014).
4. Description provided from ICTY Outreach available online at http://www.icty.org/sid/10949 (accessed 7 January 2014).
5. The events were held in Sarajevo, Tuzla, Mostar, and Prijedor in May and June 2012. I attended the Mostar and Prijedor events.
6. On the neglect of sexual violence crimes by Nuremburg and Tokyo Tribunals, see Askin (1997).
7. On the contextualisation of sexual violence through the selection of crimes charged see: Baig et al. (2016).
8. These four cases are also highlighted as "landmark cases" on the ICTY's website. See: ICTY, *Outreach: Crimes of Sexual Violence: Landmark Cases,* available at http://www.icty.org/sid/10314 (accessed 28 October 2013).
9. ICTY, Rules of Procedure and Evidence, Rule 96, UN Doc. IT/32/Rev. 49, (2013), available at: http://www.icty.org/x/file/Legal%20Library/Rules_procedure_evidence/IT032Rev49_en.pdf (accessed 28 October 2013).
10. Trial Chamber in case of *Mucić et al.*, quoted in http://www.icty.org/en/in-focus/crimes-sexual-violence/innovative-procedures (accessed 4 December 2016).
11. ICTY, Rules of Procedure and Evidence, Rule 75 (B) (iii).
12. Ibid., Rule 34(A) (ii).
13. ICTY, *Chambers;* available at http://www.icty.org/en/about/chambers/former-presidents (last accessed 20 December 2016).
14. ICTY, *Office of the Prosecutor;* available at http://www.icty.org/en/about/office-of-the-prosecutor (last accessed 20 December 2016).
15. According to the ICTY website, of the eight permanent judges currently serving, none are female, whilst nine of the 43 individuals to have previously served as permanent judges are women. This makes a total of 51 past and present permanent judges, of which nine (18%) were women.ICTY, *Chambers;* available at http://www.icty.org/en/about/chambers/judges (last accessed 20 December 2016).
16. See discussion in Jarvis and Vigneswaran (2016: 56).
17. On women's advocacy in establishing the ICTY, see for example Mertus and Hocevar Van Wely (2004).
18. As investigators pointed out to Mertus (2008: 1320), there would have been "few" witnesses testifying at the ICTY, particularly in sexual violence cases, were it not for the work of NGOs from the region.

19. As Hromadžić (2007) has highlighted in her analysis of two collections of testimonies, Bosnian women articulated agency and resistance even in the midst of victimisation—for example by devising ways to escape captivity, by physically resisting and attacking perpetrators, by protecting other women from violence, or by befriending rapists to escape gang rapes.
20. As Franke (2006: 821) notes: "To bear witness requires that victims pose themselves and their memories in a way that allows them to be harvested by judicial actors in the service of larger goals of justice."
21. On the "trauma of rape" as a significant lay discourse, see for example Gavey and Schmidt (2011).
22. Transcript of Kunarac Trial; available at www.icty.org/x/cases/kunarac/trans/en/000426ed.htm (accessed 28 October 2013).The agency displayed by this witness was highlighted by Mertus (2004: 123).
23. Transcript of Kunarac Trial; available at www.icty.org/x/cases/kunarac/trans/en/000426ed.htm (accessed 28 October 2013).
24. Copy held on file with author; also available online at http://www.ic-mp.org/wp-content/uploads/2007/11/locating-and-identifying-missing-persons-a-guide-for-families-in-bih.pdf (accessed 7 January 2014).
25. In 2011, ICMP organised an outreach project in which a series of town hall meetings were held throughout Bosnia on the topic "The Search for the Missing: Public Outreach and Access to Information".
26. "Factual" or "forensic truth" was defined in the Final Report of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission as "the familiar legal or scientific notion of bringing to light factual, corroborated evidence" (cited in Wilson 2001: 36).
27. Further details of ICMP's forensic accreditation and quality management system are provided on its website: http://www.ic-mp.org/icmp-forensic-accreditation-and-quality-management/ (accessed 8 January 2014).
28. By comparison, "ICMP" appears 101 times, "MPI" 51 times, and "Bosnia" 70 times.
29. For further information, see: Juhl (2016).
30. A more recent stocktaking report issued by ICMP (2014: 62–63) highlighted that many misidentifications were made, particularly during the war and in the early post-war years.
31. Campbell (2007: 415) points out that although sexual violence offences are prohibited under humanitarian law, they were not adequately defined until key trial decisions were reached by the ICTY and its sister tribunal, the ICTR.
32. Article 27 of IV Geneva Convention (1949), cited in Sellers (n.d.), p. 8 Note 23.

33. Key ICTY and ICTR cases featuring rape and sexual violence that made significant advances in jurisprudence in this area include: *Prosecutor v Akayesu,* ICTR-96-4-T (2 September 1998), *Prosecutor v Furundžija,* IT-95-17/1-T (10 December 1998); *Prosecutor v Kunarac, Kovać and Vuković,* IT-96-23-T & IT-98-30/1-T (22 February 2001); *Prosecutor v Kunarac, Kovać and Vuković* IT-96-23 &IT-96-23/1-A (12 June 2002); *Prosecutor v Gacumbitsi,* ICTR-2001-64-A (7 July 2006).For analysis of efforts to prosecute gender crimes, see Askin (1997, 1999, 2003); Brammertz and Jarvis (2016); de Brouwer (2005); Campbell (2004, 2007); Gardam and Jarvis (2001).
34. See Article 5(g) of the ICTY Statute; available at http://www.icty.org/en/documents/statute-tribunal (accessed 11 September 2017)
35. BiH locations include Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Bosanski Šamac, Brčko, Bosanska Krupa, Bosanski Petrovac, Doboj, Donji Vakuf, Foča, Gacko, Hadžići, Kalinovik, Kotor Varoš, Novo Sarajevo, Prijedor, Rogatica, Sanski Most, Srebrenica, Teslić, Višegrad, Vlasenica, Vogošća,
36. Sexual violence was perpetrated during takeovers, in prison settings, and during forcible expulsion campaigns.
37. As of September 2016, 78 individuals (48% of the 161 total accused persons) prosecuted at ICTY have had acts of sexual violence included in their indictments. Of these, 32 were convicted, 14 acquitted, 6 transferred to national jurisdictions, 14 have seen their indictments withdrawn or proceedings terminated, and 11 are currently involved in ongoing proceedings (of which one is at the trial stage, two in retrial and eight are before the Appeals Chamber). Within BiH, the State Court of BiH had tried 71 individuals and convicted 33 by 2013. Criminal proceedings before the courts of the Federation, RS, and Brčko District have resulted in 45 defendants and 34 convictions by 2014.ICTY, *Crimes of Sexual Violence: In Numbers,* available at http://www.icty.org/sid/10586 (last accessed 20 December 2016); OSCE (2014, 2015).
38. Jarvis and Vigneswaran (2016: 56) note that the OTP was criticised by women's groups for seemingly prioritising charges of sexual violence against male victims over those involving female victims in the Tadić case. Jarvis and Nabti (2016: 95 n.145) argue that the Tadić case illustrates the OTP's early difficulties in conceptualising female sexual violence as a violent crime such as torture, compared to male sexual violence.
39. These include the lack of sexual violence and gender expertise among judges and prosecutors, and the failure to develop a comprehensive policy on sexual violence crimes.
40. Article 2.1 defines a "missing person" as a "person about whom his family has no information and/or is reported missing on the basis of reliable information as a consequence of the armed conflict that happened on the

territory of the former SFRY … between 30 April 1991 and 14 February 1996".Article 2.1, Law on Missing Persons of Bosnia and Herzegovina, cited in Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees of Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Application of the Law on Missing Persons of Bosnia and Herzegovina,* Sarajevo, 2006; available at http://www.ic-mp.org/wp-content/uploads/2007/11/vodic_web_en.pdf (accessed 31/12/13).

41. Article 3 affirms that "families of missing persons have the right to know the fate of their missing family members and relatives, their place of (temporary) residence or, if dead, the circumstances and cause of death and location of burial, if such location is known, and to receive the mortal remains".Article 3, Ibid.
42. Article 4, Ibid.
43. Article 21, Ibid.
44. Statement obtained from ICMP website: http://www.ic-mp.org/icmp-worldwide/southeast-europe/bosnia-and-herzegovina (accessed 22/01/14).
45. There are various definitions of mass graves. The final report of the United Nations Commission of Experts to the former Yugoslavia defines a mass grave as any site which is intended as a place of permanent interment from which the bodies are prevented from being moved by natural elements, and which contain two or more bodies. The Commission identified four types of mass graves differentiated according to whether the persons contained were lawfully killed and/or buried in accordance with the Geneva Conventions. These are (i) sites containing bodies of not unlawfully killed civilians or combating soldiers, buried in a proper way; (ii) sites containing such bodies, buried in an improper way; (iii) sites containing the bodies of victims of mass killing, buried in a proper way; (iv) sites containing such bodies, buried in an improper way.UN Doc S/1994/674, Annex X, section II A.
46. Marko Jurišić, Director of BiH Missing Persons' Institute, *Address at Commemoration of International Day of the Disappeared,* Brčko, 29/08/11.
47. Amor Mašović, Director of BiH Missing Persons' Institute, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 04/11/11.
48. ICMP, *Student Presentation for Summer Research University,* Sarajevo, 4 July 2011.
49. Amor Mašović, Director of BiH Missing Persons' Institute, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 04/11/11.
50. Amor Mašović, Director of BiH Missing Persons' Institute, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 04/11/11.
51. Goran Krčmar, Head of Republika Srpska Operative Team for Missing Persons, *Personal Interview,* Banja Luka, 17/10/11.

52. EU Delegation to BiH and ICMP, "Missing persons: progress made but more for BiH authorities to do", *Press Release,* Sarajevo, 30 August 2013; available at http://www.delbih.ec.europa.eu/News.aspx?newsid=5842&lang=EN (accessed 22/01/14).
53. Human Rights Council, "Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina", *Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances,* A/HRC/16/48/Add.1, New York: United Nations, 2010, paragraph 21; available at http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G10/179/40/PDF/G1017940.pdf?OpenElement (accessed 22 January 2014).
54. According to ICMP (2014: 64 and 103), a total of 22,984 out of 32,152 persons missing from BiH were identified by 31 July 2014. In addition, the remains of at least 2,664 unidentified individuals have been located and exhumed, but remain unidentified. Consequently, 2,664 unique DNA profiles have been established from remains but are unmatched to family reference samples).
55. The latest figures from the ICTY, for example, highlight that 161 individuals have been indicted for war crimes committed across the former Yugoslavia, of which 83 were convicted, 19 acquitted, 13 transferred to national courts for trials in the region, 37 have seen their indictments withdrawn or proceedings terminated, and 7 are currently involved in ongoing proceedings. No separate statistics are available for war crimes trials involving enforced disappearances.ICTY, *Infographics: ICTY Facts & Figures,* available at http://www.icty.org/sid/11186 (accessed 3 February 2017).
56. Enforced disappearance is not included in the Statute of the ICTY; the Criminal Code of BiH recognises "enforced disappearance" as a criminal offence only within the context of crimes against humanity and not as an autonomous offence; and the crime is not codified at all within entity-level Criminal Codes.Human Rights Council, "Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina", *Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances,* A/HRC/16/48/Add.1, New York: United Nations, 2010, paragraphs 12–13, 52–56.
57. These are the key measures of reparations outlined in the UN Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law (UN 2005). *Restitution* encompasses measures to restore the victims to her/his original situation before the violation, including restoration of property rights, employment, citizenship, liberty or residency status. *Compensation* should be made for economically assessable damage including physical or mental harm, lost opportunities including employment, education, and social benefits, and material and moral damages, and costs required for legal or

expert assistance. *Rehabilitation* measures aim to address physical or psychological harms, through medical and psychological care, as well as legal and social services. Measures of *satisfaction* include symbolic measures such as fact-finding and truth-seeking measures, the location, recovery, identification, and reburial of missing persons, official declaration or judicial decision restoring the dignity, reputation, and rights of the victim and her/his relatives, public apologies, judicial and administrative sanctions against persons liable for the violations, commemorations and tributes to the victims. *Guarantees of non-repetition* encompass measures such as institutional reform.

58. See Article 24(3) of the ICTY Statute and Rules 98 *ter* (B) and 105 of the RPE. Statute available at: http://www.icty.org/en/documents/statute-tribunalRPE available at: http://www.icty.org/en/documents/rules-procedure-evidence (Accessed 11 September 2017).
59. See Rule 106 of the RPE. Available at: http://www.icty.org/en/documents/rules-procedure-evidence (Accessed 11 September 2017)
60. Human Rights Council, *A/HRC/11/6/Add.3* (2013), paragraph 94.
61. Article 11, Law on Missing Persons of Bosnia and Herzegovina, cited in Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees of Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Application of the Law on Missing Persons of Bosnia and Herzegovina,* Sarajevo, 2006.
62. Article 18, Ibid.
63. Article 19, Ibid.
64. Statement obtained from ICMP website: http://www.ic-mp.org/icmp-worldwide/southeast-europe/bosnia-and-herzegovina (accessed 22/01/14).
65. This category was created only in 2006, following intensive lobbying from civil society organisations. Previously, only those who had suffered at least 60% bodily harm were eligible for support, meaning that many rape survivors were ineligible.
66. Human Rights Council, *A/HRC/11/6/Add.3* (2013), paragraph 48.
67. Ibid., paragraph 46.
68. Lejla Mamut, Human Rights Coordinator, TRIAL, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 13/04/11.
69. This point was raised during the consultation meeting I attended in Prijedor (RS).
70. This deadline excluded, for example, those living outside BiH, those without necessary documentation, those who were unaware of the law's existence, and those whose health problems prevented them from making claims.
71. Dragiša Andrić, Višegrad Camp Detainees Association, *Personal Interview,* Višegrad, 02/05/12.

72. Alisa Muratčauš, Association of Concentration Camp Survivors, Canton Sarajevo, *Personal Interview*, Sarajevo, 21/10/11.
73. Husić (2013: 100) notes that by 2012, only 707 of the estimated 10,000–50,000 victims of wartime rape and sexual violence had registered themselves as civilian victims of war. There are a number of reasons for this low figure, raised at a number of consultation meetings I attended during fieldwork. Some victims died during the war or in its aftermath, whilst others moved abroad and did not return to Bosnia. Some survivors have been unable to register due to the restrictions outlined in this section; and others have been unwilling to register due to the lack of trust in institutions dealing with this issue.
74. This point was raised during a consultation meeting.
75. ICMP (2014: 123) notes that within BiH, 35 associations of families of missing persons were active in 2014.
76. As Chappell (2015: 37) asserts: "Men have been the 'rule makers' of international law – the judges, lawyers, diplomats, and officials who have set the agenda. […] The corollary of men's traditional dominance of international law has been women's absence, which has resulted in women's voices – as judges and advocates as well as victims and perpetrators of war and conflict – being silenced, sometimes intentionally and sometimes inadvertently …".
77. ICTY, Rules of Procedure and Evidence, Rule 34(A) (ii), UN Doc. IT/32/Rev. 49, (2013), available at http://www.icty.org/x/file/Legal%20Library/Rules_procedure_evidence/IT032Rev49_en.pdf
78. ICTY, Rules of Procedure and Evidence, Rule 34(A) (ii), UN Doc. IT/32/Rev. 49, (2013), available at http://www.icty.org/x/file/Legal%20Library/Rules_procedure_evidence/IT032Rev49_en.pdf
79. Of the total 4650 witnesses, almost 50% were from Bosnia.ICTY, *Witness Statistics;* available at http://www.icty.org/sid/10175 (last accessed 1 February 2017).
80. Furthermore, Stover (2005: 98) notes that the majority of ICTY witnesses he interviewed experienced the failure of witness protection measures—the fact they testified was well known in their communities, leaving them open to recriminations on their return.
81. In 2012 I attended 5 of the 12 consultative meetings organised across BiH by the BiH Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees where this Draft Programme was discussed.
82. BiH Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees, *Strategy of Transitional Justice in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, Sarajevo: 2012, pp. 36–38.

83. On the problems of consociationalism from a feminist perspective in BiH and other post-conflict contexts see Byrne and McCulloch (2012).
84. Essentialism, as Grosz (1995: 47) explains, denotes the "attribution of a fixed essence to women", for example on the grounds of biology, nature, or universality. This masks the thoroughly social construction of "woman", "gender", and "femininity" through discourse and social practices—as Susan Hekman (1995: 196) notes, the "essentially feminine subject" is constructed in opposition to the modernist masculine subject as "passive, irrational, and overly emotional by masculinist structures of domination", defining woman as "wholly passive, the dupe of social forces".

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CHAPTER 5

"Justice Does Not Come": Gendered Agency and Activism Around Wartime Sexual Violence in BiH

Introduction

Rape and sexual violence have been enduring features of armed conflicts throughout history (Brownmiller 1976: Chap. 3). Yet, historically, very few perpetrators have been brought to justice.[1] Reports of the widespread perpetration of rape and other forms of sexual violence during the conflict in Bosnia, however, led to loud and persistent demands for accountability. The gendered logic and impact of the conflict was widely publicised. For the first time, sexual violence in conflict was highlighted as a threat to international security by the UN (Gardam and Jarvis 2001: 148). Rape became "securitised" as a collective security issue (Hansen 2001), constructed not as an inconsequential "by-product" of armed conflict but rather as a significant "weapon of war" (Buss 2009; Stiglmayer 1994). Unprecedented attention was paid to the large-scale and orchestrated nature of sexual violence perpetrated in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and connections between sexual assaults and other violations such as genocide and ethnic cleansing (Harbour 2016: 20–24). In response, feminist and women's groups called for gender justice to be achieved. Activists demanded the sanctioning of perpetrators and recognition of the full range of harms experienced by women in wartime. They called for the provision of gender-equitable redistribution measures that respond to the diverse interests and needs of survivors. Activists also pressed for the design and implementation of representative justice institutions that ensure meaningful participation and representation not only of survivors

M. O'Reilly, *Gendered Agency in War and Peace*, Rethinking Peace and Conflict Studies, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-352-00145-7_5

but also of female legal professionals and others with expertise on sexual violence and gender issues.[2]

Wartime rape and other forms of sexual violence impart a difficult legacy, leaving many survivors dealing with ongoing physical and psychological health problems, facing widespread discrimination, and struggling with socio-economic harms (Ní Aoláin et al. 2015: 110–111). The multitude, complexity, and ongoing nature of the harms suffered sustained by victims, and absence of justice for many survivors, was summed up by one activist, who pointed out:

> People who survived the war, who were in the hands of an army … [or] who lost [loved ones] in the war—trust me, for them the war lasts even today. For today they are either witnesses at the prosecutor's office, have children whom they gave birth to after they were raped, are disabled, or search for their missing. … The war still lasts for them. And justice does not come. It does not come.[3]

My examination of official discourse on post-war justice in the previous chapter demonstrated that women in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) are being encouraged as victims, as survivors, and/or as activists to embrace or accept particular policies and practices in a positive light, or alternatively to conform to or comply with the expectations of policymakers and practitioners. Against this background, this chapter examines the responses of activists from survivors' associations and feminist/women-centred advocacy NGOs, who are campaigning to attain gender justice for survivors of wartime sexual violence. The first section examines responses to "top-down", "elite-driven" models of retributive and restorative justice. I explore how activists understand, experience, reflect upon, and respond to official discourse with varying degrees and modes of agency and resistance. Interpreting post-war justice processes, following Foucault, as regimes of power and knowledge that are employed to regulate the emotions, attitudes, and behaviour of individuals and groups, I highlight the various modes of agency and resistance that activists have developed and deployed in response to attempts to govern their conduct and regulate their capacity for thought and action (see Jabri 2010: 5). I focus attention on the ways in which official discourse is being adopted, adapted, and/or contested within the responses of individual women. I explore how activists

establish their own positions in relation to post-war justice mechanisms, constructing their own conceptualisations of justice that to various degrees uphold, negotiate, or challenge dominant understandings contained within official discourse. The second section critically examines the significance of a recent "bottom-up" initiative––the Women's Court for the former Yugoslavia––as a locally engaged approach to achieving gender justice for survivors of sexual violence and other women impacted by armed conflict. Overall, I argue that the initiative has contributed to the recognition and representation of BiH women as victims/survivors of gendered violence and discrimination, and also added weight to demands for redistributive justice. Nevertheless, the Women's Court was hampered by a number of shortcomings which impeded recognition and participation of some survivors, and redistribution of material resources. Furthermore, its "bottom-up" nature and focus on the micro-level means it will struggle to ensure that its efforts "trickle up" to achieve transformative change at the macro-level.

Gender Justice from Above: Activist Responses to Official Discourse

Retributive Justice: Responses to War Crimes Trials

It is important to note that none of the representatives from survivors' associations I interviewed disputed the importance of war crimes trials in dealing with Bosnia's traumatic legacy of rape and sexual violence. Indeed, they highlighted a number of reasons why the investigation, prosecution, and sanction of perpetrators was significant for them. For Enisa Salčinović, retributive justice was important for "punishing the perpetrator" and for "verify[ing] the truth".[4] Alisa Muratčauš also argued that "all war criminals should be arrested, [… and] justice is very important for all sides [of the conflict]".[5] Interestingly, Alisa singled out the ICTY's work as particularly significant in recognising wartime rape and sexual violence as war crimes and crimes against humanity,[6] instead of disregarding these violent acts as unimportant by-products of war. For Amela Međuseljac, court verdicts bestowed crucial legal recognition that crimes had been committed. Regardless

of the sentence delivered, she argued that trials were important because they ensured that perpetrators were officially recognised ("registered") as "war criminal[s]" and "held responsible" for their crimes.[7] As Amela and Bakira Hasečić both pointed out, trials are particularly important for removing perpetrators from public office, since individuals suspected of war crimes may continue to work in local municipalities, law enforcement agencies, and even in schools.[8] Trials were also regarded as important for facilitating the return of refugees and displaced persons—many of whom do not feel safe to return to their pre-war residences because they encounter perpetrators "the moment [they] enter" their former towns and villages.[9] The deterrent effect of trials was also highlighted, with Bakira arguing that prosecutions serve as "a warning to all future generations"[10] that perpetrators would be punished for perpetrating crimes. Finally, Saja Ćorić argued that war crimes trials can offer moments of satisfaction to survivors—"the satisfaction of the perpetrators being sentenced, of being proven guilty".[11]

The responses above highlight some of the ways in which women accept and embrace official discourse regarding the importance of criminal justice processes. However, rather than demonstrating solely passive conformity to the expectations of retributive justice policymakers and practitioners, survivors and their representatives are actively engaging with this discourse, adopting and adapting it to make retributive justice meaningful to them as situated individuals. Significantly, activists emphasised the agency and resistance shown by witnesses who testify in criminal trials.[12] Alisa pointed out that it is "only due to our testifying [that] criminals are arrested and put into prison".[13] Bakira added that trials provided opportunities for survivors to actively confront their perpetrators in the courtroom—"to look at his face and ask him why [he committed such acts]".[14] Moreover, Amela asserted that women "help to write the history of these areas"[15] by testifying in war crimes trials—thereby highlighting their role in constructing historical memory of the 1992–95 war. Finally, Saja expressed a hope that her participation in criminal trials will help to build a better future for the younger generation. She explained:

> I want to leave something for future generations—peace and tranquillity. I want criminals to be in their proper place, because those who killed and raped yesterday will do it again today as well as tomorrow.[16]

In this way, women resist the subject position of the "passive" and "helpless" victim by making sense of criminal justice discourse in ways that are helpful and meaningful to them. As these responses show, war crimes trials have opened up opportunities for women to take up active roles in transitional justice (TJ), for example, by holding perpetrators accountable for their actions, by establishing the facts (or "truth") surrounding wartime violence, by achieving legal recognition of crimes, by re-establishing safe and peaceful communities, and by preventing the re-occurrence of violence. By adopting, adapting, and/or contesting official discourse, women construct themselves as active protagonists rather than as passive objects of criminal justice processes. This contrasts with stereotypical understandings of women as helpless and passive victims of war.

Nevertheless, retributive justice has also been experienced by survivors as frustrating and at times disempowering. Firstly, activists from survivors' associations noted their dissatisfaction with the low speed of war crimes processing, and with the large backlog of cases yet to be processed within BiH. Meliha Merdžić called attention to the urgency of accelerating prosecutions by pointing out that "witnesses die every day".[17] For Bakira, the slow pace of prosecutions was experienced as similar to being given "justice and truth ... [by] an intravenous drip—whenever they feel like it".[18] This highlights the hierarchies of power that are constructed and maintained through criminal justice––it is "experts" who are empowered to deliver the medical (read: justice) intervention, and who determine the flow (read: pace) of delivery. War crimes investigators, prosecutors, and legal professionals exercise discretion regarding which legal cases to prioritise, which charges to select, and therefore who can participate in criminal trials (Jarvis and Vigneswaran 2016: 45–66). These responses from activists constitute critical forms of agency in response to this exercise of disciplinary power.

Secondly, the potential for criminal investigations and trials to re-traumatise survivors was also raised in interviews. Alisa pointed out that women who were subjected to rape and other forms of physical and psychological torture "often experience secondary traumatisation" when they act as witnesses in war crimes trials. She explained that witnesses "have to return to [the years] 1992 to 1995"—to revisit "a horrible, horrible time"

in their lives.[19] In addition, Amela expressed frustration and anger about survivors receiving repeated requests for statements by investigators:

> You cannot come and torture me every week; every time you arrest someone you come and want to talk to me about it ... It kills you mentally. You automatically become an unhealthy person. No one knows that, after she testifies, a woman can have a stroke and lie in bed for two years. No one is interested in that.[20]

Amela and Meliha suggested that Prosecutor's offices should instead take statements only once from witnesses and record these, not only so that they can be used at different trials, but also so that they are preserved after witnesses die.[21] As these points highlight, providing statements and testifying in war crimes trials are not necessarily experienced as therapeutic acts. As a representative of the Witness Support Section at the State Court of BiH explained, whilst some witnesses find a sense of "psychological closure" by verbalising their experiences, others feel worse after recalling the traumatic past. In a small number of cases, survivors have been hospitalised after testifying. Reactions to testifying vary, depending on the strength and coping mechanisms of each individual.[22] By highlighting these issues, survivors disrupt the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)'s official narrative on the "triumph of justice", by pointing out that justice for some survivors may not provide relief but in some instances may hinder recovery. These counter-discourses highlight that survivors of sexual violence may accept opportunities to act as witnesses in criminal trials whilst simultaneously rejecting authoritative knowledge regarding the benefits of testifying. Others may choose to decline, on the basis that testifying does not present a suitable way to care for the self, enhance their ability to come to terms with the violence experienced in wartime, and/or lead a fulfilling life.

Thirdly, survivors raised concerns over the inadequacy of the witness protection and support available in BiH courts. Bakira expressed disappointment about the time-limited nature of the practical and psychological support provided at the State Court of BiH. She has previously reported being subjected to intimidating phone calls and letters after testifying at a war crimes trial, in an attempt to convince her to withdraw her testimony, and was also insulted by the accused in court (Alić 2007; McKenna and Džidić 2007). In her experience, victims were not being provided with

adequate protection and support, and often feel abandoned after providing their testimonies. As she argued:

> They need you while you are still at court. As soon as you close the door behind you, you become no one's responsibility. You are left on your own resources.[23]

Survivors and their organisations have been threatened and subjected to physical attacks, experiences which provoke fear and distress. Saja spoke of her association's premises being attacked and burgled—"two or three times; whenever we get the equipment they rob us"[24]—and of being subjected to harassment after testifying at a criminal trial.[25] Although the incidents were reported to the police, the individual(s) responsible had not been identified, investigated, or sanctioned (TRIAL 2011: 22). These incidents highlight key failings in witness protection and support, and undermine trust in the criminal justice system. Indeed, Azra Hasanbegović, who spoke of working with many survivors over the years, highlighted that many women have refused to testify in criminal trials, whilst those who chose to do so frequently feel "worn-out and thrown on the side like a doormat".[26] The refusal to testify should be viewed as a key manifestation of agency—an act of self-protection in response to inadequate structures of witness protection and support. These points highlight that survivors do not merely accept "expert" statements on the benefits of criminal trials, but instead weigh up the possible benefits, risks, and pitfalls of participation within the context of their individual lives and experiences.

In response to gaps in witness protection and support, women activists have been instrumental in building structures of support for survivors. The women's NGO Medica Zenica, for example, has been providing various forms of medical care, psychotherapy, vocational training, and other forms of support to survivors of rape and other forms of violence since 1993.[27] The Foundation for Local Democracy (FLD) has also provided free legal aid to survivors of sexual violence and other marginalised groups through the Centre for Legal Aid for Women in Sarajevo.[28] Medica established the first institutionalised networks of support to victims and witnesses involved in trials for war crime and sexual violence at the cantonal level. Protocols on mutual cooperation were signed with relevant ministries, institutions, and NGOs to enable survivors/witnesses to access legal, psychological, and other forms of support before, during, and after testifying.[29]

These witness support networks have since been extended to cover eight cantons in the Federation, four district court regions of the RS, plus Brčko District, through partnerships developed between civil society organisations Vive Žene, Medica Zenica, Foundation "United Women" Banja Luka, and the Agency for Cooperation, Education and Development, Banja Luka. The hope is that survivors will no longer feel "exploited" by the criminal justice process.[30] By providing training workshops to educate professionals across legal, healthcare, social work, police and security sectors, and NGOs working with survivors, the organisations aim to improve cooperation between institutions, strengthen capacities for support, and improve awareness of the needs and rights of survivors and witnesses.[31] The initiative is a promising development, with potential to enhance the conditions within which gendered agency develops. By improving resources available and addressing barriers to engagement in criminal justice, it may lead to participation in criminal trials becoming a choice that can be reasonably and effectively exercised by survivors. However, its success requires equal access to effective legal, medical, psychological, and other forms of assistance being extended to all survivors across BiH regardless of their residence. This entails the extension and harmonisation of provision across the country.[32]

Whilst women's NGOs have been active in constructing these crucial structures of professional support, survivors' organisations have been essential sources of emotional and practical support for victims engaging in criminal justice processes. Indeed, the creation of bonds of solidarity among survivors can be regarded as another crucial form of collective agency. Saja, for example, explained that in her association:

> We keep in touch constantly … None of us went there [to the court], to testify without fifty of us holding her side. All of us go with her, and another group of us waits at the centre. When you visit our centre ... you will see how many champagne bottles we have opened… We celebrate because she managed to fight the battle against herself, to tell the truth she had been holding inside… In everything we do, a genuine feeling [for the survivor] is part of it, it is very important for her that she is not alone… We exist because of ourselves. We search in our own way, for who is responsible, we are looking for the truth and slowly trying to show other women that it is a fact that if you want to heal only a little, you need to experience another trauma in order to get the satisfaction of the perpetrator being sentenced, of being proven guilty.[33]

Saja's narrative points to the double-edged nature of witnessing in criminal trials—of going through the potentially traumatic experience of testifying in order to "heal only a little" by seeing perpetrators sentenced. She highlights that feelings of empathy and bonds of solidarity among survivors have been crucial to enable women to come to terms with wartime experiences. Whilst many witnesses inform family members about their participation in rape trials and have been supported by family and friends through this process (Mischkowski and Mlinarević 2009: 59), others testify in secret, without telling their families.[34] Given the obstacles to survivor participation in war crimes trials (raised above and in Chap. 4), the support and understanding of women who have gone through similar experiences may be crucial.

Redistributive Justice: Campaigns for Reparations

Whilst much attention has been paid to retributive justice in Bosnia, redistributive justice has been largely overlooked and existing policies provide survivors with unequal and inadequate access to reparations. Activists from survivors' associations expressed concerns that Bosnia lacks a comprehensive programme of reparations for victims of wartime rape and sexual violence. Alisa pointed out that survivors remain at "the margins of society" after suffering "the worst kind of physical and emotional torture", and continue to be denied adequate healthcare, psychological support, and housing.[35] Of all the TJ mechanisms, the provision of adequate reparations was in her view the most important because it offers the possibility for survivors to restore their dignity, and "feel like human beings again".[36] As she pointed out, "Torture removes the dignity of people ... and they deserve much more help."[37] Enisa, moreover, stressed that rape was deployed in war to humiliate victims "not only physically but mentally", and argued that the intention of many perpetrators was to "harm us to the extent that we are never able to recover".[38] Consequently, Enisa emphasised the need for medical and psychological rehabilitation, to enable survivors to "live normally" and to "contribute to society".[39] In addition, Amela noted that her survivors' association had organised a meeting to find out about their needs and concerns of their members. Healthcare and economic support emerged as priority issues, since many survivors are unable to work and are struggling as single mothers to provide for their families.[40] Bakira, meanwhile, stressed the importance of enabling victims to return to their pre-war homes and of upholding their

rights to healthcare without discrimination.[41] Furthermore, Amela and Bakira both emphasised that children born of wartime rape and their mothers are in need of particular support. Amela stated that women who gave birth following rape are largely ignored: "Nobody will ever ask the woman if she needs absolutely anything."[42]

Women's groups and survivors' associations have undertaken a number of steps in order to address the marginalisation of restorative justice in Bosnia. Crucially, the collective campaign undertaken by a coalition of 35 NGOs, called "For the Dignity of Survivors", led to amendments being adopted to the FBiH Law on Social Protection in 2006, enabling survivors resident within the Federation to register as civilian war victims and claim social benefits.[43] Since 2007, FLD has been implementing the project "Assistance to Women Victims of Domestic Violence, Trafficking and Women Victims of War" within a number of towns and rural locations across BiH, with the financial support of UNHCR.[44] This project aims to enable women to exercise their legal rights, to gain confidence, and to achieve economic independence by providing different forms of assistance such as support to start-up small businesses, opportunities to undertake education and training, and access to medical services. Survivors' organisations have also undertaken steps to address the absence of adequate reparations. The Women's Section of Concentration Camp Survivors, Canton Sarajevo, for example, has organised projects for members geared towards psycho-social rehabilitation and economic empowerment.[45] Notably, the Section's leader, Enisa Salčinović, became the figurehead for UNFPA advocacy efforts to increase public awareness of the problems facing survivors of wartime rape and sexual violence. Enisa narrated her wartime experience for the UN documentary *21st Century Bosnia: Legacy of Rape* in 2010, and travelled to New York to participate in a side event of the 55th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women in March 2011 for a screening of the documentary.[46] She was invited to address the conference, *Ensuring justice, reparations and rehabilitation for victims of conflict related sexual violence,* held in Sarajevo in September 2012, and lent her support to the Draft Programme for Victims of Wartime Rape, Sexual Abuse and Torture and Their Families in Bosnia-Herzegovina 2013–16, stating:

> … we victims do not ask for mercy but we do ask for our rights to justice and a system which will ensure that the events do not happen in the future, that victims will be provided with decent treatment and services, and that victims are not ashamed of who they are.[47]

This is another important manifestation of agency—the ability to speak out publicly and assert claims to justice and reparations.

Significantly, the NGO TRIAL International have assisted survivors to file successful compensation claims at the Court of BiH, resulting in damages being awarded to victims of sexual violence in two criminal proceedings in June 2015. These landmark rulings represent the first time that perpetrators have been ordered to pay compensation to victims in addition to custodial sentences, and set an important precedent for future cases (TRIAL 2015: paragraph 42).[48] Recently, TRIAL spearheaded the introduction of a state-level law, which will enable survivors to obtain free legal counsel to seek compensation in criminal proceedings. The organisation has pointed out the value of compensation in punishing perpetrators and deterring future crimes, but also in acknowledging survivors, building their trust in the justice system and empowering survivors to take on active roles in criminal proceedings, and so on (TRIAL 2016: 16–24). These are important advances, yet the risk that convicted perpetrators may not possess the requisite funds to pay the compensation awarded highlights the need for an administrative approach to reparations to be introduced across BiH (Brammertz et al. 2016: 365).

Dominant discourse on the war and post-conflict peacebuilding in BiH—emanating from international donor organisations and from local ethno-national political elites—constructs women in passive or apolitical terms as grieving mothers and widows, desperate refugees, traumatised victims of rape, and natural peacebuilding agents (Walsh 1998: 333; Helms 2013). In the aftermath of war, these gendered and ethnicised images of women are often drawn upon to advance activist agendas. The importance of ethnic victimhood presents a significant challenge to women's organising. BiH remains riven by competing narratives of ethnic victimhood, deep disagreements over the character and nature of the conflict, disputes over who was responsible for the outbreak of violence and who constitutes "victims" and "perpetrators".[49] These narratives are characterised by a zero-sum logic in which the collective memory of suffering constructed by one side endeavours (at least in the perception of the Other) to marginalise, relativise, exclude, or even deny the suffering experienced by the Other.[50] Consequently, activists cooperating across ethnic/national divides often engage in "strategic avoidance" of sensitive topics such as wartime rape, and frequently relegate detailed discussions of the nature and character of the war, of nationalism and questions of responsibility to the private sphere (Helms 2013: 147–150,

222–223, 242–243). The divisive issue of sexual violence in conflict has proven particularly difficult for activists to mobilise around, given polarising constructions of survivors as symbols of collective victimhood and damaging hierarchies of victimhood through which this issue is frequently discussed (see Chap. 2).

Against this backdrop, it is particularly significant that survivors' associations and women's organisations have begun to build coalitions that enable them to act in concert and articulate collective responses to shared problems. One excellent example is the coalition of survivors' associations and women's NGOs who have collaborated with TRIAL International, to exert pressure on the BiH state to comply with human rights norms by raising these problems with international actors through special procedures and shadow reports.[51] Through this coalition, survivors' associations and women's NGOs have espoused a *rights-based* approach, drawing on international legal instruments and human rights norms to argue that women have a right to equal access to meaningful forms of justice and reparations. In doing so, they have worked to construct survivors as rights-bearing subjects rather than passive victims of conflict. They have submitted, for example, alternative reports and general allegations to UN bodies and representatives. These outline the failure of the BiH state to uphold the rights of survivors, and highlight the ongoing barriers survivors face in accessing justice.[52] Thanks to their efforts, the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, its Causes and Consequences undertook an official visit to Bosnia in November 2012. Her subsequent report included recommendations which are binding upon the BiH state, including ensuring that sexual violence survivors realise their rights to justice and reparations.[53]

The coalition, spearheaded by TRIAL, recognises the existence of multiple standpoints on (in)justice, and the need for joint perspectives of justice to emerge through ongoing negotiation among survivors and their representatives. It is a recent example of activism grounded in a politics of "transversalism"[54] whereby coalitions are built among women spanning diverse racial/ethnic/national/class and other divides, as a way to challenge gendered inequalities and (re)create more peaceful and emancipatory societies (Cockburn 1998, 2002; Korač 2006).[55] The coalition brings together multiple perspectives drawn from differentially situated survivors' associations and women's organisations. These groups are situated in both the Federation and RS, and are therefore presumed to "belong" to different identity groups. Agency emerges not only from the *outcomes* of activist campaigns but also

through the *process* of acting in concert with others which entails the self-definition of interests and needs (Showden 2011: 186). The specific proposal and interventions that have emerged are produced through dialogue among coalition members, and articulate shared values, interests, and conceptions of justice. The coalition involves activists reaching out to "others" across divides and pushing for gender-just peace by advocating for gender-based harms to be remedied through mechanisms of recognition, redistribution, and participation.

Gender Justice from Below: The Women's Court for the Former Yugoslavia

In this final section, I explore the significance of a recent "bottom-up" truth-telling project—the Women's Court for the former Yugoslavia—as a locally engaged approach to achieving gender-just peace for women in post-conflict BiH. Almost 20 years after the war ended in BiH, a coalition of civil society activists and women's organisations from across the former Yugoslavia jointly established a non-judicial Women's Court in the region. It aimed to create a space for women to publicly voice their experiences of violence and injustice, and to highlight women's organised resistance to war, nationalism, and militarism.[56] The initiative represents an expression of resistance to the dominant model of retributive justice implemented in the post-Yugoslav region. The remainder of this chapter evaluates the successes and shortcomings of responding to gendered forms of wartime violence through truth-telling. I begin by charting the emergence of the Women's Court initiative as a "bottom-up", civil society-initiated process that enabled women survivors of wartime violence to publicly testify about their experiences. Next, I extend Nancy Fraser's tripartite model to evaluate the initiative's achievements and limitations (versus "top-down", "elite-driven" justice processes) in positively transforming gender relations and structures of power within the BiH context.

Background to the Women's Court for the Former Yugoslavia

On 7–10 May 2015, in the Bosnian capital Sarajevo, the non-judicial Women's Court for the former Yugoslavia took place, organised by a coalition of civil society activists and women's organisations. The "Women's Court—A Feminist Approach to Justice" represented a significant attempt

to deliver an alternative, feminist model of justice for women affected by the violent dissolution of the Yugoslav state (Kovačević et al. 2011). This symbolic "court" provided a platform for women to narrate their experiences of violence and injustice inflicted during and after the wars in the former Yugoslavia. During the four-day event, 36 women from all Yugoslav successor states (BiH, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia) publicly testified to an audience of approximately 500 people. They spoke of their experiences of war and post-war transition, the myriad forms of violence endured in public and private spheres, and testified about women's organised resistance to war, nationalism, and militarism. The event extended public recognition of women's diverse experiences of victimisation, trauma and loss; yet also highlighted their capacity to demonstrate agency and resistance. While other women's and human rights organisations have worked primarily to improve access to justice provided by courts, advocates of the Women's Court initiative aimed to expand the meaning of justice by creating a new space for women to voice their experiences, promote empathy and understanding for their past/present suffering, and enable women to become *political subjects* instead of merely *objects* of TJ processes.[57] The organisers aimed to increase the visibility of women's resistance to war, nationalism, militarism, and sexism, highlight their contributions to TJ processes, and promote their active participation in peacebuilding.[58]

The Women's Court: Concept and Organisation

The Women's Court was inspired by "a global movement that seeks to relook at rights and other notions of justice from the lives and life visions of women—particularly from the global South" (El Taller, cited in Duhacek 2015: 160). The concept originates from the work of the Asian Women's Human Rights Council, which has organised several courts in the Asia Pacific region since 1992. Its sister organisation, El Taller International, has taken these courts across the globe (Kumar 2005: 192–194).[59] Women's Courts are organised by women's groups at local, regional, and/or international levels, through a preparatory process that aims to be both inclusive and democratic, and deploys educational activities, artistic events, and/or working groups (Kovačević et al. 2011: 16–17). At the international level, financial support was received from international women's funds including the Global Fund for Women, Mama Cash, Urgent Action Fund, and the regional Reconstruction

Women's Fund (Žene u Crnom 2012a: 6). At the regional level, the preparatory process was led by Women in Black Belgrade (WiB), on behalf of a Regional Organizing Board composed of members of organisations from across the post-Yugoslav region.[60] BiH was represented first by Memnuna Zvizdić (Žene Ženama), and later by Jadranka Milićević (Foundation CURE) and Stanojka Tešić (Forum Žena)—these activists were nominated as individuals by BiH activists to be the "voice and ears of BiH".[61] The Mothers of the Enclaves of Srebrenica and Žepa were also invited to be Board members by WiB.[62] At the BiH level, four partner organisations promoted and implemented the initiative—Foundation CURE in Sarajevo, the Centre for Legal Assistance for Women in Zenica, Budućnost in Modriča, and Forum Žena in Bratunac. These organisations, located in both the Federation of BiH and RS, undertook street actions, workshops, and public presentations to promote public awareness of the initiative within BiH. They also travelled to local communities to work with potential witnesses and their supporters to prepare them for testifying. Their work was supplemented by the activities of three other organisations in BiH—Lara in Bijeljina, HO Horizonti in Tuzla, and Most in Višegrad—who organised promotional events in their local communities to inform the public about the Women's Court concept and approach to justice. All seven are long-established organisations that work on promoting gender equality and tackling gender-based violence within BiH, and form part of an existing network of Bosnian women's NGOs supported by the Swedish NGO Kvinna til Kvinna.

Each of the Courts displays a different ethos and emphasis, depending on the objectives of the organisers (Kumar n.d.). However, each one is connected by a methodology that aims to "weave together the *objective* reality (through analyses of the issues) with the *subjective* testimonies of the women; the personal with the political; the *logical* with the *lyrical*" (Kumar 2005: 190). The Sarajevo Court featured five thematic panels: (a) "war against civilians" (spotlighting militaristic/ethnic/gender-based forms of violence); (b) "women's bodies—a battlefield" (focusing on sexual violence in conflict); (c) "militaristic violence and women's resistance"; (d) "ethnic violence"; and (e) "(un)declared war" (centred on social and economic violence and women's resistance). Women's Courts centre on public hearings featuring personal testimonies of gender violence and injustice. Testimonies are received by a jury whose role is to reflect upon, analyse, and respond, as well as mediate between the witnesses and the international human rights community (Kumar 2005: 190). Jury members

are selected on the basis of their knowledge, expertise, and status—"whose words carry a significant weight in the world".[63] In Sarajevo, an International Judicial Council was formed, comprised of highly regarded legal scholars and feminist activists from the region and beyond.[64] First-person testimonies from survivors[65] were followed by testimonies from expert witnesses who situated personal experiences of violence within their historical, political, and socio-economic contexts.[66] This highlighted how social structures such as ethnicity, gender, class, and sexuality enabled violations to occur.[67]

Aesthetics are also a significant feature of Women's Courts, with poetry, dancing, handicrafts, theatre performances, and other artistic expressions often deployed to convey experiences of suffering and resistance (Kovačević et al. 2011: 18). The Sarajevo Court featured a number of these alternative commemorative practices which aim to open up space for public debate on the wartime past (Fridman 2014), and to create a sense of unity, collective identity, and solidarity among participants (Bilić 2012). As shown in Fig. 5.1, the event opened with a street performance, entitled



Fig. 5.1 "Women Together for a Just Peace" Street Performance, 7 May 2015 © Author

Women Together for a Just Peace. Women gathered at Liberation Square (*Trg Oslobođenja*), displaying banners ("solidarity", "responsibility", "remembrance"), before walking through the city centre (Fig. 5.2). They carried red carnations, flowers often used to celebrate International Women's Day and to symbolise the working classes during Yugoslav era on occasions such as International Labour Day. Banners hung at the entrance to the event, displaying quotes from witnesses for participants to read on their arrival. Photos of wartime destruction, anti-war demonstrations, and commemoration ceremonies were also exhibited, alongside placards naming sites of notorious detention settings, and flags and posters used by women activists at demonstrations and events (Figs. 5.3 and 5.4).

Women's Court for the Former Yugoslavia as an Expression of Popular Justice

The Women's Court for the former Yugoslavia can be understood as a form of "popular justice" in which justice is exercised by individuals and



Fig. 5.2 "Women Together for a Just Peace" Street Performance, 7 May 2015 © Author



Fig. 5.3 Banners in the Entrance to Women's Court, 7–10 May 2015 © Author

groups from civil society, in a region characterised by functioning domestic law (Merry and Milner 1995: 3). According to Merry and Milner (1995: 4), popular justice is typically characterised by

> … popular sovereignty, direct governance and control by the people, the capacity of judges to exercise social power autonomously, a minimum level of institutionalization and bureaucratization, nonprofessionalized handling of disputes, and little specialization.



Fig. 5.4 Banners in the Entrance to Women's Court, 7–10 May 2015 © Author

Popular justice mechanisms are relatively informal in nature, deploy non-professional and non-legal language and personnel, and are local in scope and limited in jurisdiction (Merry 1992: 162). The justice dispensed by popular justice mechanisms is

> … unofficial (dissociated from state power), noncoercive (dependent on rhetoric rather than force), nonbureaucratic, decentralized, relatively

> undifferentiated, and non-professional; its substantive and procedural rules are imprecise, unwritten, democratic, flexible, ad hoc, and particularistic. (Abel 1982: 2)

The Court relied largely on the participation and leadership of lay people rather than legal experts (although legal experts took part as members of the jury). It did not possess an official mandate and coercive instruments to sanction or punish perpetrators of violence. The Court was an ad hoc initiative, tailored to the particular circumstances affecting women in post-Yugoslav countries. However, it also appropriated some of the language, symbols, and rituals of the official legal system. For example, it deployed legal terms such as "witnesses", "expert witnesses", and "judicial council", yet concluded with the presentation of preliminary decision and recommendations (rather than a "judgment") by the Council on the final day. Furthermore, whilst it aimed to provide a restorative rather than retributive form of justice to survivors, the Court also sought to demand accountability, thereby connecting the initiative to both international and domestic courts where war crimes trials are ongoing. It was communitarian in nature,[68] and expressed the values and norms of women who form a community of peace and feminist activists across the region. The Court also provided continuity with the socialist tradition of popular justice by encouraging victims to take an active role in proceedings; localising justice by organising the event in the region as opposed to third countries; and seeking to restore fractured relationships among individuals and communities, without denying the importance of legal remedies.[69]

Peace and Justice Through a Feminist Lens: Assessing the Women's Court as a Feminist Model of TJ

The Women's Court aimed to provide a feminist model of TJ. The initiative emerged in response to the perceived shortcomings of the top-down, perpetrator-focused model of retributive justice emerging from international and domestic legal institutions which have often failed to recognise and to sanction violence perpetrated against women and other marginalised groups (Kovačević et al. 2011: 11).[70] In contrast to criminal tribunals, the Court was a bottom-up initiative springing from activists within civil society, which aspired to address the needs of women survivors of wartime violence and to achieve a restorative (rather than retributive) form of justice that heals both individual victims and the communities in which violence took place (Žene u Crnom 2012b).[71]

Justice as Recognition

The Women's Court was specifically designed to spotlight women's voices and experiences through dedicated public hearings that explored the gendered impact of conflict. This focus brought "women into view" and exposed the specific challenges they face in (post)conflict contexts (Ní Aoláin and Rooney 2007: 340). This strategy directly responded to feminist critiques that women's testimonies are often excluded from truth recovery processes, or else tend to focus on violence experienced by family members instead of themselves (Theidon 2007: 457; Ross 2003). One panel was dedicated to the issue of rape and sexual violence, at which four women recounted their experiences.[72] This was significant given the awareness that such survivors may find it particularly difficult to participate in truth-telling processes. The recognition of rape and sexual violence in post-war justice mechanisms can be a "mixed blessing" (Buckley-Zistel and Zolkos 2012: 10). Women are often reduced to "targets of one particular crime and construct[ed] as perpetual victims, fixing their social positions and political identities … as passive, inferior, vulnerable, and in need of (male) protection" (Ibid.). Yet one striking aspect of several sexual violence testimonies was a focus on survivors' active efforts to recover and rebuild their lives. Testimonies of extreme victimisation were therefore situated within "womanly narratives of heroism" (Theidon 2007: 465). Furthermore, although the contributions of expert witnesses highlighted the devastating impact of rape and sexual violence on the physical and psychological well-being of victims, they also stressed the agency that survivors demonstrate by battling patriarchal legal frameworks and demanding their rights to justice and reparations. Rather than pathologising survivors through the sole use of medicalised discourses they constructed survivors as rights-holders and key agents of justice. Witnesses and experts therefore challenged "institutionalized patterns of cultural value" that constitute women in general, and SGBV survivors in particular, "as inferior, excluded, wholly other, or simply invisible" (Fraser 2007: 31).

Beyond sexual violence, the testimonies presented provided a varied account of the harms and losses women endured in wartime. This included the loss of loved ones; torture, detention, and sexual violence; enforced disappearances of family members; displacement to refugee and IDP camps; forced mobilisation of male relatives; giving birth whilst in flight; and life under siege and in conditions of heightened insecurity. The hearings also highlighted the ongoing impact of war on women's lives. Women recounted battling health problems; managing sudden accession to heads

of households; surviving in conditions of insecurity and economic adversity; returning to pre-war homes and communities and fighting to reclaim property, or alternatively remaining displaced and being unwilling/unable to return. Furthermore, following the first and fourth panels on "war against civilians" and "ethnic violence", expert witnesses highlighted the importance of hierarchical gender roles, identities, and structures of power to the emergence of ethnicised identity politics, militarism, and production of violence (particularly perpetrated against women). They also identified the "continuum of violence" (Valji 2007: 12) and inequality women experience in wartime and peacetime. The final panel on "(un)declared war" placed the spotlight on socio-economic violence experienced by women as a result of post-war privatisation and liberalisation processes. This broadened traditional understandings of the range of harms incurred by women from an unduly narrow focus on direct injury and political violence to encompass violations of social and economic rights (e.g. Ní Aoláin and Turner 2007: 254; Bell and O'Rourke 2007: 34). By extending the focus beyond single violations and specific events to highlight wider structures of inequality and ongoing harms, the Court highlighted how women are constituted "as less-than-full partners" by societal "status orders" and economic structures in existence before, during, and after conflict (Fraser 2007: 28).

Nevertheless, the Women's Court event was restricted in its ability to provide a wide-ranging and inclusive public account of BiH women's experiences of conflict. As a time-bound event, spanning only four days and five panels, it could not hope to achieve a comprehensive account of the gendered harms and injustices of war. This point notwithstanding, there were notable gaps in the recognition and representation of particular forms of violence and of specific groups of conflict-affected women in BiH. Firstly, BiH testimonies tended to focus on violations experienced by their husbands, sons, and male relatives, with the only direct harm presented as sexual violence (Porobić Isaković and Mlinarević 2016a: 30).[73] This familial mode of truth-telling is problematic in extending recognition to women "as secondary victims rather than as primary agents in a struggle against injustice" (Goldblatt and Meintjes 1998: 8). BiH narratives also focused exclusively on wartime experiences, thereby excluding recognition of pre-war and post-war periods and the gendered structures of inequality that enable gendered violence and discrimination to emerge and endure (Porobić Isaković and Mlinarević 2016a: 30–32).

Secondly, only 5 of the 36 testimonies centred on sexual violence.[74] The panel dedicated to this issue was the smallest of all the panels. It was composed of a relatively narrow range of witnesses (from Kosovo and Eastern BiH)[75] whose narratives highlighted experiences of being targeted as Muslim/Bosniak women by Serb men.[76] Consequently, the Court failed to seize this opportunity to fully challenge ethno-nationalist narratives, and related hierarchies of victimhood that dominate discussions of wartime rape within BiH (see Helms 2013). In addition, the panel focused exclusively on the strategic use of rape by combatants as a tactic or weapon of war—on rape as having "a systematic, pervasive, or officially orchestrated aspect" (Buss 2009: 149). This theme was emphasised through the panel's title ("women's bodies—a battlefield"). It was also constructed through the narratives of witnesses who testified to being raped in the context of widespread attacks against civilian populations. As sexual violence is often a hidden aspect of war, it was both important for and courageous of these women to share their testimonies so that rape and sexual violence is better understood and its ongoing legacy adequately addressed (Goldblatt and Meintjes 1998: 7).[77] However, this framing meant that other "rape regimes" that existed during the 1990s conflicts—such as "opportunistic" rape, rape by family members, sexual exploitation/forced prostitution, and rapes involving victims and perpetrators who do not belong to opposing warring parties (Boesten 2010)—and gendered power relations by which they were enabled remained unrecognised.

Thirdly, all BiH witnesses testified about their first-hand encounters with violence in the Podrinje Valley (Eastern BiH). This geographically narrow range of testimonies meant that the Court was unable to capture the experiences of women living elsewhere in BiH.[78] Surprisingly, the Court did not feature testimonies of women from, for example, urban centres such as Sarajevo and Mostar (famous for their pre-war cosmopolitan character), the Bosanska Krajina region (infamous for mass killings, ethnic cleansing, and detention camps), or from the town of Tuzla (whose local government resisted ethno-nationalism during the war). This highlights the propensity of truth-telling initiatives to focus on illustrative/exemplary cases, resulting in an entire country being represented as an "undifferentiated whole" (Arriazza and Roht-Arriaza 2008: 144).

Fourthly, the Court failed to capture many other aspects of women's wartime roles and identities, particularly their active participation in the war effort. In BiH for example, several thousand women volunteered to serve in the national armies and militias, taking on not only support

positions but also combatant roles (Hadžiahmić 2011; Kesić 1999: 188). Extending recognition of (ex-)combatant women's experiences could have disrupted traditional meta-narratives of war as a masculine endeavour, by revealing how armed forces depend on upon women's labour (Enloe 1983). The Court missed a valuable opportunity to explore the lived realities of women (ex-)combatants who can be considered both as perpetrators and as victims (Coulter 2008), and failed to examine whether post-war peacebuilding processes have met their needs. Ultimately, the focus of the Women's Court on validating the experiences of victims rather than agents of wartime violence meant that it was unable to adequately contend with questions of responsibility, innocence, and guilt. Similar to other truth recovery processes, it overlooked the "ambiguities, mixed motives and shades of grey" that coloured the conflicts in the region (Arriazza and Roht-Arriaza 2008: 153). It failed to adequately explore the "grey zone" of conflict in which clear-cut distinctions between perpetrators and victims are difficult to maintain (Theidon 2010: 100). This highlights the propensity for truth recovery processes to (re)produce dichotomous identities of victims and perpetrators via victim-centred approach that emphasises the suffering of "innocent civilians" (Theidon 2010: 100). It also underscores the point that alternative/complementary justice mechanisms are not necessarily more inclusive of women's experiences (Ephgrave 2015: 179). In the BiH context, this meant that essentialist narratives of women's victimhood and lack of complicity and responsibility in processes of violence and oppression (Helms 2013: 7) remained largely unquestioned.

Ultimately, gender justice requires achieving parity of participation across multiple axes of differentiation (Fraser 2007: 28). With respect to BiH, it requires recognition of the intersection of gender and other structures of identity—including military/civilian status, ethnicity, and urban/rural location—and, relatedly, the varied patterns of violence and harms incurred by differentially positioned women. In this regard, the Court largely failed to extend justice as recognition for women in BiH.[79]

Justice as Redistribution

Moreover, the ability of the Women's Court to deliver redistribution of material resources in favour of women survivors is severely limited. As a civil society initiative, the Women's Court was not backed by a reparations programme for BiH. It could not respond to resources disparities; however, its proposals for remedies have the potential to lay the ground for redistributive change (Stanley 2009: 125). This could range from *affirmative* redistribution—such

as enabling more survivors to access support provided through existing laws on social protection—through to *transformative* measures—which would enhance women's status in society.[80] BiH activists did engage with representatives from state and entity-level ministries, as part of the preparatory process, to push for government endorsement of a Programme for Victims of Wartime Rape, Sexual Abuse and Torture and Their Families in Bosnia-Herzegovina.[81] This Programme, as mentioned in Chapter 4, is designed to address the shortcomings of existing policies and practices. It aims to secure equal access to justice and reparations, and to raise public awareness of the issues facing survivors.[82] The Programme awaits approval by state and entity-level governments, but remains delayed by ongoing political deadlock. This demonstrates the obstacles to the "trickle up" effect of civil society initiatives, particularly in deeply divided societies where political elites continue to propagate division and ethno-nationalist narratives. Furthermore, the preliminary decision and recommendations issued on the final day of the Court called on governments in the region to implement policies of transformative redistribution. These include full disarmament and redirection of military spending into social justice programmes; respect for the economic and social rights of women; reversal of privatisation processes and prioritisation of social justice; and provision of transformative reparations and redress for women survivors, including measures to prevent war criminals from holding public office of being celebrated as war heroes (Rakić-Vodinelić et al. 2015). At present, however, it seems unlikely that the international organisations involved in peace implementation will roll back their privatisation and liberalisation agendas, increase spending on social justice, or promote full disarmament over the pursuit of defence reform and NATO membership.

Justice as Representation

The Women's Court had the potential to expand the participation and representation of survivors in TJ processes—to address the "political dimension of representation" (Fraser 2005: 73) by widening "who is included in … the circle of those entitled" to recognition and redistribution (Fraser 2005: 75). One key purpose was to "listen to women survivors, and to those that resisted violence, that is to hear the voices of survivors" (Corinne Kumar, quoted in Chinkin 2006: 212). The Courts are designed to open up "a safe place" (Corinne Kumar, quoted in Chinkin 2006: 212) for women to voice their personal experiences of violence and injustice. To encourage participation, women's organisations worked on sensibilising their local communities about the initiative, through seminars, training workshops, public presentations, film screenings, street actions, and the

dissemination of newsletters, flyers, and other printed materials, and so on.[83] Activists then reached out to selected survivors, introducing them to the Women's Court model through workshops, providing individual and group therapies to help potential witnesses to come to terms with their experiences and prepare them for testifying. Training was also provided to support persons tasked with providing practical and moral support to witnesses.[84]

However, there were a number of factors that hindered BiH survivor participation. Firstly, work with survivors in BiH was undertaken over a short timescale (over eight months from January to August 2014) and small budget to cover costs of travel and therapy sessions.[85] One activist noted her regret that the initiative could only offer short-term therapy (five face-to-face sessions and then over-the-phone sessions) when in fact some survivors required longer-term support, and that more survivors were not able to participate due to these constraints.[86]

Secondly, the perception that the Women's Court was not a neutral initiative appears to have impeded participation by BiH survivors. Within BiH, the lead organisation, WiB, is noted for its work with individuals and communities who were victims of crimes committed by Serbian forces in "their name".[87] Perceptions that the initiative was partial in favour of "Bosniak" survivors and against "Serb" survivors in particular were reinforced by the decision of WiB to select the Mothers of Srebrenica association as a Regional Board member.[88] The screening of promotional materials, which featured testimonies of survivors targeted by Bosnian Serb forces, to women in communities which are mainly Bosnian Serb, was also problematic. This issue was flagged by activists from organisations within the RS, but did not lead to changes in outreach.[89] Furthermore, the Court received negative press in the RS, with veterans' organisations issuing several statements condemning the initiative.[90] The lead-up to the Women's Court coincided with RS authorities beginning to shift attention to the situation of survivors of sexual violence in the RS, which led to a focus on the victimisation of "Serb" women as "invisible victims" and excluded non-Serb women living in the RS.[91] Against this background of renewed politicisation and nationalist rhetoric, it is likely that survivors also made their own pragmatic decisions regarding whether to engage with the process.

Thirdly, as noted above, there were relatively few testimonies on sexual violence in comparison to other forms of violence.[92] There are several reasons why women may choose not to testify on this topic. Goldblatt and

Meintjes (1998: 10–13) highlight as key constraints: (a) the secondary status of women in society and the resultant failure to recognise sexual violence as political; (b) the devaluation of experiences of women survivors, particularly of sexual violations that did not involve penetration; (c) social stigma; (d) the desire for privacy rather than public exposure; (e) self-blame; (f) reluctance to revisit traumatic experiences; and (g) political loyalties which result in survivors of "intra-group" rape in particular reluctant to testify. In the BiH context, public testimony is also impeded by deep politicisation and exploitation of the issue, with nationalist elites often 'seek[ing] to profit from a narrative of the atrocities committed by others to "their women" (Mlinarević et al. 2015). Furthermore, many survivors have over the years provided statements to numerous international fact-finding missions, journalists, and human rights NGOs. Yet, their experiences were frequently manipulated by political elites for wartime propaganda purposes (Benderly 1997: 65),[93] while others found themselves publicly exposed by journalists who ignored their requests for anonymity,[94] resulting in survivors experiencing a violent loss of control over the representation of their personal experiences.

Conclusion

TJ processes are often conceptualised and legitimised in terms of doing justice *for* victims, *empowering them* to tell their stories, and seeking material and symbolic compensation for their suffering. The survivor is often conceptualised as a victim in need of rescue from their pain or of healing their suffering, an object of intervention rather than a subject in his or her own right. Rather than contributing to their empowerment, "top-down" TJ discourses and practices may therefore very well contribute to the marginalisation of survivors and increase their feelings of disempowerment. Yet this chapter has shown that victims and survivors are not content simply to wait for justice to be "done" in their name, but are instead working to find new ways of dealing with the past that can enable them to find social *recognition* of their pain and suffering, that addresses demands for the *redistribution* of material resources, of guilt/blame/power, and allows survivors to reclaim *political voice* in the aftermath of trauma. For some, "top-down" TJ processes and mechanisms are interpreted as empowering, enabling survivors to achieve recognition of harms experienced, and/or access to much-needed economic resources, and so on. For others, encounters with justice have proven disempowering, and have resulted in

experiences of status subordination, maldistribution, and marginalisation/exclusion. Activist narratives display a wide variety of responses ranging from acceptance and compliance, through ambivalence, towards outright rejection and resistance to particular policies and practices.

Significantly, this chapter has highlighted through the analysis of the Women's Court initiative, that despite good intentions, "bottom-up" mechanisms may (re)produce, rather than overcome, injustices of recognition, redistribution, and representation. By opening up a new space for women to consider how they have in various ways and to differing degrees been victimised by and/or been able to demonstrate resist to violence, the Court hoped to achieve gender justice and redress for women affected by armed conflict. The initiative placed women at the centre of TJ as a process, and aimed to empower women to become agents of social and political change. The testimonies presented by survivors provided valuable insights into the gendered impact of wartime violence and transition from war to peace, into the legacies of pain, loss, and injury, but also of the forms of agency that emerge in the aftermath of trauma. Yet, the Court struggled to achieve recognition and representation of particular communities of survivors and categories of harm. Its "bottom-up" nature and focus on the micro-level means it will struggle to ensure that its efforts "trickle up" to achieve transformative change at the macro-level, particularly in the area of redistributive justice.

Notes

1. On the issue of rape in armed conflicts and international law, see for example: Chinkin (1994) or Meron (1993).
2. See for example the widely circulated Memorandum from the International Women's Human Rights Law Clinic of CUNY School of Law to the Secretary General of the United Nations (1993), reproduced in Appendix B of Green et al. (1994). This memo was written in response to the decision by the UN Security Council to establish an international tribunal. It noted concerns (1994: 235) "that the effective condemnation, prosecution and redress of gender-specific crimes … requires more considered attention as well as the equal participation of women in every aspect of the process".
3. Amela Međuseljac, Association Women Victims of War, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 25/05/2011.
4. Enisa Salčinović, Women's Section of Association of Concentration Camp Survivors, Canton Sarajevo, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 16/05/11.

5. Alisa Muratčauš, Association of Concentration Camp Survivors, Canton Sarajevo, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 21/10/11.
6. Ibid.
7. Amela Međuseljac, Women Victims of War Association, *Personal Interview,* Ilidža, 25/05/11.
8. Ibid.; Bakira Hasečić, Women Victims of War Association, *Personal Interview,* Ilidža, 01/08/11.
9. Bakira Hasečić, Women Victims of War Association, *Personal Interview,* Ilidža, 01/08/11.
10. Ibid.
11. Saja Ćorić, Association of Camp Detainees of the Vojno camp Sumejja Gerc, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 26/06/11.
12. I focus here specifically on the views of survivors who actively campaign around the issue of wartime rape and sexual violence in BiH. Further insights into the reasons why survivors choose to testify in rape trials can be found in the important witness study conducted by Mischkowski and Mlinarević (2009).
13. Alisa Muratčauš, Association of Concentration Camp Survivors, Canton Sarajevo, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 21/10/11.
14. Bakira Hasečić, Women Victims of War Association, *Personal Interview,* Ilidža, 01/08/11.
15. Amela Međuseljac, Women Victims of War Association, *Personal Interview,* Ilidža, 25/05/11.
16. Saja Ćorić, Association of Camp Detainees of the Vojno camp Sumejja Gerc, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 26/06/11.
17. Meliha Merdžić, Women Victims of War Association, *Personal Interview,* Ilidža, 25/05/11.
18. Bakira Hasečić, Women Victims of War Association, *Personal Interview,* Ilidža, 01/08/11.
19. Alisa Muratčauš, Association of Concentration Camp Survivors, Canton Sarajevo, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 21/10/11.
20. Amela Međuseljac, Women Victims of War Association, *Personal Interview,* Ilidža, 25/05/11.
21. Amela Međuseljac and Meliha Merdžić, Women Victims of War Association, *Personal Interview,* Ilidža, 25/05/11.
22. Representative of Witness Support Section, BiH State Court, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 09/11/11.
23. Bakira Hasečić, Women Victims of War Association, *Personal Interview,* Ilidža, 01/08/11.
24. Saja Ćorić, Association of Camp Detainees of the Vojno camp Sumejja Gerc, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 26/06/11.
25. Saja Ćorić, Association of Camp Detainees of the Vojno camp Sumejja Gerc, *Personal Interview,* Mostar, 12/10/11.

26. Azra Hasanbegović, Žene BiH, *Personal Interview*, Mostar, 12/10/11.
27. For an overview of Medica Zenica's work with war-affected women, see Cockburn (1998).
28. Confidential Source, Fieldnotes, April 2012.
    FLD's project also offers free legal aid to single mothers, victims of domestic violence, and victims of trafficking.
29. Sabiha Husić, Medica Zenica, *Personal Interview*, Sarajevo, 07/06/12.The first networks were established in Zenica-Doboj (in 2011) and Central Bosnia cantons (in 2012).
30. Sabiha Husić, Medica Zenica, *Personal Interview*, Sarajevo, 07/06/12.
31. More information regarding this network can be found on the project website: http://svjedocipravdapristup.com (last accessed 13 January 2017).
32. There is currently a wide variation in the forms and levels of support available to survivors of wartime sexual violence across BiH, from both formal institutions and NGOs. This point was stressed by a number of interviewees and also raised in a number of consultations throughout my fieldwork.
33. Saja Ćorić, Association of Camp Detainees of the Vojno camp Sumejja Gerc, *Personal Interview*, Sarajevo, 26/06/11.
34. Dragana Dadić, Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Banja Luka, *Personal Interview*, Banja Luka, 02/09/11.
35. Alisa Muratčauš, Association of Concentration Camp Survivors, Canton Sarajevo, *Personal Interview*, Sarajevo, 21/10/11.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Enisa Salčinović, Women's Section of Association of Concentration Camp Survivors, Canton Sarajevo, *Personal Interview*, Sarajevo, 16/05/11.
39. Ibid.
40. Amela Međuseljac, Women Victims of War Association, *Personal Interview*, Ilidža, 25/05/11.
41. Bakira Hasečić, Women Victims of War Association, *Personal Interview*, Ilidža, 01/08/11.
42. Amela Međuseljac, Women Victims of War Association, *Personal Interview*, Ilidža, 25/05/11.
43. Vive Žene, Centre for Therapy and Rehabilitation, *Invited Presentation*, Conference on "Ensuring Justice, Reparations and Rehabilitation for Victims of Conflict Related Sexual Violence", Sarajevo 5–6 September, 2012.
44. Amra Kadrić, Foundation for Local Democracy, *Personal Interview*, Sarajevo, 20/06/2014.
    FLD's project was implemented in collaboration with government ministries and agencies, and war victims' associations within Republika Srpska and FBiH.

45. These projects include a sewing programme, computer training, and English language classes, the provision of discounted travel tickets and support packages, and also medical and psychological support through the Centre for Torture Victims and massage treatments through the Healing Hands Network.
    Enisa Salčinović, Women's Section of Association of Concentration Camp Survivors, Canton Sarajevo, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 16/05/11; Alisa Muratčauš, Association of Concentration Camp Survivors, Canton Sarajevo, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 21/10/11.
46. Enisa Salčinović, Women's Section of Association of Concentration Camp Survivors, Canton Sarajevo, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 16/05/11.
47. Enisa Salčinović, *Invited Presentation,* Conference on "Ensuring Justice, Reparations and Rehabilitation for Victims of Conflict Related Sexual Violence", Sarajevo 5–6 September, 2012.
48. On 24 June 2015, the Court of BiH sentenced Bosiljko Marković and Ostoja Marković to ten years' imprisonment and ordered to pay 26,500 KM (approximately 13,500€) to the victim as compensation for damages. Five days later, on 29 June 2015, a former Bosnian Serb soldier was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment and ordered to pay 29,300 KM (approximately 15,000€) to the woman he attacked.
49. Disagreements remain regarding whether the conflict was a "war of aggression" by Bosnia-Herzegovina's neighbours, as a "civil war" in which Bosnian Serbs fought against the threat of domination by non-Serbs in an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina, or as a "homeland war" in which Bosnian Croats fought in defence of their homeland.
50. For an overview of collective memory as a zero-sum game and a critique of this model, see in particular Rothberg (2009).
51. Lejla Mamut, TRIAL, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 13/04/11; Selma Korjenić, TRIAL, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 26/09/11.
52. These include alternative reports submitted to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (2015, 2012), the Human Rights Committee (2015, 2012, 2011), and UN Committee against Torture (2011), and general allegations to the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women (2014, 2011), and Special Rapporteur on Truth, Justice and Reparations (2014).
53. This report is available at http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/RegularSession/Session23/A-HRC-23-49-Add3_en.pdf.
54. Transversal politics involves engaging in dialogue, using techniques of "rooting" and "shifting"—centring on one's own experiences whilst being empathetic to the differential positionings of the other individuals and collectives—to make possible discussion and political activism (Yuval-Davis 1997: 88–92).
55. Cockburn (2002) studied seven civil associations across BiH (including Medica) who have organised locally, as women, for women, on women's

issues, who adopted transversal politics. Helms (2013: 242) points out, however, that this still entailed "strategic avoidance" of wartime rape and other sensitive topics. By 2012, "direct discussion of the nature of wartime rape with all its gendered and sexed as well as nationalist aspects had yet to take place among women's activists … whether within the Federation, across BiH entities, or regionally" (Helms 2013: 221).

56. More information is available at: http://www.zenskisud.org/zenski-sudovi.html.
57. Women in Black, presentation at *Women's Court* workshop held in Sarajevo, November 2011.
58. Staša Zajović, Women in Black, *Personal Interview,* Belgrade, 08/05/2012.
59. The World Court of Women against War, and for Peace, held in Cape Town in 2001, was particularly significant because it featured several women from the former Yugoslavia. Bosnian activist Memnuna Zvizdić (Women to Women, Sarajevo), was a member of the International Coordination Committee. Žarana Papić, a prominent feminist and member of Women in Black Belgrade (WiB), was one of five speakers on the Opening Panel. Two women from Prijedor, BiH, testified at the event: Nusreta Sivac spoke of surviving wartime rape; Mejra Dautović testified about losing two children and being displaced from her home-town (Kumar 2001). Their testimonies featured in promotional films for the 2015 Women's Court.

    Mejra Dautović, *Personal Interview,* Bihać, 24 April 2012.
60. The event was organised by a Regional Steering Board, featuring activists from the organisations: Mothers of Srebrenica and Žepa enclaves and Foundation CURE (BiH); Centre for Women Studies and ROSA- Centre for Women War Victims (Croatia); Kosovo Women's Network; National Council for Gender Equality (Macedonia); Anima (Montenegro); Women's Lobby Slovenia; and Women's Studies (University of Belgrade) and Women in Black (both from Serbia). More information is available at http://www.zenskisud.org.
61. Confidential Source, *Personal Interview,* BiH, April 2015.
62. The organisations involved in establishing and implementing the initiative and their degrees of involvement changed over time. Hence it proved difficult to gain accurate information regarding the organisation process. I acknowledge that this synopsis is therefore a simplified version.
63. Official website of the Women's Court for the Former Yugoslavia, "Methodology of Work", http://www.zenskisud.org/en/Metodologija.html (accessed 02 April 2015).
64. These are Vesna Rakić-Vodinelić, Serbia; Charlotte Bunch, USA; Gorana Mlinarević, BiH; Latinka Perović, Serbia; Kirsten Campbell, UK; Dianne Otto, Australia; and Vesna Teršelič, Croatia.

65. Notably, all testimonies presented at the Women's Court for the Former Yugoslavia were first-person testimonies. First-person, advocate, and/or joint testimonies have all been used in other Women's Tribunals, as Reilly and Posluszny (2005) point out.
66. These are Rada Iveković, Vjolca Krasniqi, Renata Jambrešić Kirin, Miroslava Malešević, Snježana Milivojević (Panels 1 and 4); Marijana Senjak i Gabi Mischkowski (Panel 2); Staša Zajović, Snežana Obrenović and Bojan Aleksov (Panel 3); Tanja Đurić Kuzmanović i Senka Rastoder (Panel 5).
67. This is a key aspect of Women's Court methodology. See official website of the Women's Court for the Former Yugoslavia, "Methodology of Work", http://www.zenskisud.org/en/Metodologija.html (accessed 02 April 2015).
68. Merry (1995: 40) identifies four main cultural traditions of popular justice that have emerged in the twentieth century: reformist, socialist, communitarian, and anarchic.
69. These are some of the key characteristics of the socialist "self-management courts" created by the 1974 Constitution of SFRY, as outlined by Hayden (1990). None of my respondents highlighted the "self-management courts" as inspiration for the recent initiative. The Court's continuity with the socialist model of popular justice is striking but appears largely unintended.
70. I should clarify that criminal trials are also viewed as important sources of recognition by survivors of SGBV in BiH, as highlighted by many interviewees. The Women's Court should be viewed as a complementary rather than strictly alternative model of justice for BiH.
71. It is important however to point out that women's wartime activism demanding prosecution of sexual violence was crucial to the establishment of the ICTY (see e.g. Mertus 2008).
72. In addition, another witness testified to her experience of sexual violence during Panel 4 ("ethnic violence").
73. Testimonies from other post-Yugoslav countries recounted other direct harms incurred by women including, for example, the experience of being "erased" (e.g. stripped of citizenship/legal status) following Slovenia's declaration of independence in 1991 (Slovenia); and violent and discriminatory processes of post-war privatisation (Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia).
74. I refer here to all four testimonies on Panel 2 ("women's bodies—a battlefield") and one testimony from Panel 4 ("ethnic violence").
75. This point was mentioned by other audience members at the event.
76. The sole exception was the testimony of one woman from Croatia who was raped by a paramilitary group, and was targeted on the basis of her identity as a member of the Serb minority. However, she was included in Panel 4 rather than 2.

77. Importantly, women's courage and agency in testifying and engaging in struggles for justice was highlighted by the expert statements and the preliminary decision and recommendations delivered by the Judicial Council.
78. Notably, witnesses from BiH suggested before the event that the range of BiH witnesses should be expanded to include women from other regions and towns which do not receive the same degree of public attention as Srebrenica and Podrinje Valley.
    Kadefa Rizvanović, Vice-President of Women of Podrinje Association, *Personal Interview,* Ilidža, October 2015.
79. In this regard I diverge from Clark's (2016) view that the Women's Court successfully delivered justice as recognition.
80. For examples of possible transformative measures, please see Porobić Isaković and Mlinarević (2016b), outlining a concept and framework for the development of a gender-sensitive reparations programme for civilian war victims in BiH.
81. Confidential Source, *Personal Interview,* BiH, May 2015. Notably, the RS government refused to receive visits from these organisations.
82. In 2012 I attended several consultative meetings organised by the BiH Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees on the Draft Programme across BiH.
83. Confidential Source, *Personal Interview,* BiH, April 2015.
84. Confidential Source, *Personal Interview,* BiH, April 2015.
85. In contrast, work with survivors was undertaken on a longer-term basis in other countries (e.g. Serbia and Croatia).
86. Confidential Source, *Personal Interview,* BiH, April 2015.
    The devastating floods that hit BiH in May 2014 also impeded this preparatory work, with some survivors having to focus on immediate existential needs.
87. McLeod (2015: 107) notes that the belief that the Serbian state and society should accept responsibility for war crimes committed during the 1990s conflicts is an "integral value" of WiB activists.
88. Confidential Source, *Personal Interview,* BiH, May 2015.
89. Confidential Source, *Personal Interview,* BiH, May 2015.
90. Confidential Source, *Personal Interview,* BiH, April 2015.
91. In April 2015, politicians in the RS National Assembly discussed and adopted findings and recommendations of a study on the position of Serb women, victims of wartime crime of sexual violence in BiH provided by the RS Gender Center.
92. Although survivors of sexual violence from BiH participated in the preparatory process, not all chose to publicly testify at the May event.
    Suvada Selimović and Šaha Hrustić, Association Anima 2005, *Personal Interview,* Đulići, October 2015.

93. Benderly (1997: 65) highlights that during the war a "numbers game" was played—between the European Community, human rights groups, the United Nations, as well as governments in the region—regarding the magnitude and character of wartime rape.
94. This was pointed out at the consultation meetings I attended in 2012 on the topic of wartime rape and sexual violence.

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CHAPTER 6

"I Cannot Extinguish Hope": Gendered Agency and the Search for Missing Persons in BiH

Introduction

The wars that scarred the region of the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s claimed the lives of around 140,000 people, a quarter of whom disappeared and were reported missing by their families (Danziger and MacLean 2010). As Chap. 2 highlighted, within Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) alone, around 100,000 people are reported to have been killed during the 1992–95 conflict, of which approximately 31,500 people were reported missing and presumed dead (ICMP 2014: 22). The conflict in Bosnia was a highly gendered affair. Men took up the majority of combatant roles, and constitute the vast majority of those who were detained, killed, and/or went missing (Lindsey 2000: 569). The difficult task of ascertaining their fate has fallen to many of their wives, mothers, and sisters.

Wartime disappearances exert a tremendous psychological toll on survivors (Blaauw and Lahteenmaki 2002),[1] leaving many to cope with ongoing trauma and grief, to search for the mortal remains of their loved ones, and to seek justice for the crimes committed against themselves, their families, and friends. Yet, in spite of the war's devastating impact, it has also generated highly "ambivalent gains" (Manchanda 2001) for women, with many taking on new roles and identities that may have been unlikely or perhaps impossible before the conflict. Bosnian women have demonstrated incredible courage and resilience in response to wartime deaths and disappearances—by taking up new positions as heads of

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households, by caring for those who have been orphaned, bereaved, injured, and disabled by war, by making challenging decisions regarding whether and when to return to the pre-war homes, and by managing to survive in the face of ongoing economic adversity, political insecurity, and social division.

This chapter explores women's activism around the issue of missing persons. I examine the efforts of women in Bosnia to locate, recover, identify, and re-bury the mortal remains of missing husbands, sons, brothers, and other family members. I highlight how women have been campaigning *as* mothers, *as* widows, and *as* sisters of missing persons for forms of justice that recognise and respond to the gendered impact of wartime death and disappearance. These activists are asserting claims to a more complex form of justice than has so far been achieved in Bosnia—one that responds to their need to clarify the fate and whereabouts of missing loved ones, bestows *recognition* of their suffering, addresses their demands for the *redistribution* of material and/or symbolic resources, and enables them to reclaim dignity, agency, and voice in the aftermath of trauma. By advancing claims for recognition, redistribution, and representation/voice, women have both allied themselves with and have also challenged existing voices of authority on transitional justice (TJ) matters in BiH. On the one hand, activists have taken up the dominant discourse of TJ "experts" to demand their rights to justice, truth, and reparations. Many are engaged in formal TJ initiatives—for example, by actively participating in the process of locating, recovering, and identifying missing persons, and by providing testimony in war crimes trials. On the other hand, they have also challenged existing TJ policies and practices, working to contest inequalities, and to (re)value the missing lives of their loved ones as worthy of being redressed and publicly mourned. The chapter explores the understandings, experiences, and views of women who have been campaigning within associations of families of missing and killed persons, drawing on narrative interviews I conducted in 2011 and 2012. Throughout the chapter, I explore the various ways in which individual women make sense of official discourse on TJ, paying particular attention to their identities and lived experiences. I examine how women negotiate their own position in relation to the official discourses emanating from TJ policymakers and practitioners. In doing so, they produce understandings of justice that at times challenge the conceptualisations contained within the official discourse.

The Traumatic Impact of Disappearance: Ambiguous Loss and Complicated Grief

Women who have lost one or more family members to violent disappearance experience "ambiguous loss" (Boss 2002)[2] due to the high degree of uncertainty regarding the fate of their missing loved one(s). Their situation is one of "unclear loss resulting from not knowing whether a loved one is dead or alive, absent or present" (Boss 2004: 554). When their relatives first disappeared, many families held hope that they would eventually be found alive.[3] As Hajra Ćatić explained, in the case of the men and boys who disappeared after the fall of Srebrenica in July 1995, many women hoped that they would see their male relatives again after they were separated by Bosnian Serb forces:

> We hoped they would break through the woods and arrive at the free territory… We did not believe that they could have killed them all. We thought they were held in camps somewhere, that they were alive, somewhere … However, as time passed, mass graves started to be dug out and we knew. We became aware that all of them were indeed killed.[4]

Hope gradually diminished over time, and most families of the missing now accept that their relatives are dead.[5] However, as Ema Čekić poignantly explained, some relatives continue to express uncertainty regarding the fate of their missing loved ones:

> What hurts me most is when [a woman] says, 'Ema, perhaps they are alive somewhere.' And I cannot tell her, I don't want to hurt her. I tell her, 'You know, perhaps they are. Who knows? Perhaps they killed these people and threw them [into the river], and the others managed to escape and save themselves. Perhaps they forgot what their names are." I cannot hurt her … I cannot extinguish her hope.[6]

The woman in Ema's account remained hopeful that her missing family member would eventually reappear. Ema's response to her ambiguous loss was to take steps to protect the woman from the pain of acknowledging that her relative is dead. The story highlights that, without a body to bury, it is difficult for relatives of missing persons to acknowledge their loss.[7] As one investigator explained, mothers often continue to hold hope that their missing child or children might one day be found alive, even when they have received information that they have been killed.[8]

Ongoing disappearance interrupts grieving processes (Pérez-Sales et al. 2000), leaving families unable to fully mourn the loss of their loved ones or to conduct rituals such as funerals to honour their memory (Blaauw and Lahteenmaki 2002). Indeed, the uncertainty surrounding the fate of the missing was described as "a form of torture" by one activist, provoking feelings of "pain inside your soul".[9] The psychological presence yet physical absence of a family member provokes feelings of depression, helplessness, and anxiety and often generates family conflict (Boss 2004, 2006, 2007). Often family members of missing persons experience symptoms of "complicated grief", such as intrusive images or intense emotional attacks (Blaauw and Lahteenmaki 2002: 767–768). Several women I interviewed described feeling depressed, stressed, exhausted, and/or had experienced nightmares and traumatic flashbacks following the disappearance of family members. "When the phone rings, you start shaking and wondering whether [your husband] was found", Milka Kovačić stated. "The nightmares are terrible", she added, "You are waiting, searching and you resolve someone's [missing persons] issue, but then you wonder what will happen with your own."[10] "Sometimes I lose heart and cannot go on", Ferida Nišić said, "but after I have some rest, take a night or two night's break, I continue searching".[11] "Everyone's heart aches for their loved ones", Staka Petrović pointed out. "I suffered a terrible tragedy at the very beginning [of the war], and I was barely able to recover, barely able to mend."[12] And, the absent presence of missing family members is felt in everyday life. As Zdravka Karlica noted, "so many times when I took [my granddaughter] in my arms I started thinking what [my husband] would have given to hold her in his arms."[13] Ema spoke of the traumatic memory of herself and her daughter saying goodbye to her husband, who was detained in an army barracks, for the last time. "Those were the hardest moments of my life", she said, "even now when I pass by the army barracks I cannot turn around to look at it, because I have a feeling that I left my husband there."[14] These responses highlight the significance of familial and community ties—of relationality—in the emergence of gendered agency. The agency that these women deploy appears to be driven by a sense of commitment (perhaps obligation) to close relatives, both missing and alive, to actively engage in the issue of missing persons. Their identities as mothers, sisters, wives, and widows of missing relatives can be understood as both enabling and constraining—these identities are productive of motivation, but also a sense of burden and responsibility, to undertake work which requires significant affective labour.

Whilst the fate of their missing relatives remains unknown, women and their families will continue to struggle with the uncertainty and find it difficult to come to terms with their death and disappearance. As the years go on, families who are searching for missing persons increasingly feel as if they are battling against time. “The families are dying”, Milka pointed out, “if the family is gone, who will take over the remains?”[15] “We keep searching for the bodies”, Dobrinka Trifković said, “but people say they cannot be found”.[16] Over 18 years after the war ended, many relatives are growing old, and are anxious to discover what happened to their loved ones. One mother expressed a fear that she might die without ever finding her missing son. She prays “that God saves me so that I find out what happened to my child. That is my only goal”.[17]

Finding the Missing: Establishing the Fate and Whereabouts of the Disappeared

The process of locating, recovering, and identifying missing persons is designed to end the uncertainty surrounding their fate. By recovering mortal remains from individual and mass grave sites throughout the region, and identifying missing persons through DNA technology, organisations such as the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP) and Bosnia’s state-level Missing Persons Institute (MPI) aim to provide families with a sense of closure. For families who are still searching for missing relatives, finding, recovering, and identifying their bodies is a key priority.[18] “For all of us who search for our missing, this is issue number one”, explained Milijana Bojić.[19] Relatives rely heavily on the work performed by the multiple agencies, both international and domestic, who are engaged in this process. Without the expertise they provide in forensic archaeology and anthropology, and DNA technology, it would be difficult if not impossible to successfully undertake the tasks of exhuming grave sites, re-associating disarticulated body parts, and matching the names of missing persons with skeletal remains. In turn, ICMP and MPI are reliant upon the cooperation of families in registering missing relatives, in providing blood samples for DNA identification, and in passing on information to help discover grave locations. Family associations in particular are being encouraged to play an active role by gathering information, providing advice and support to families, lobbying institutions, and raising awareness and understanding of the issue of missing persons. A symbiotic relationship exists between families of the missing and the institutions dedicated to

finding their loved ones. It is one which is characterised by cooperation but also by conflict.

Survivors express a desire to know the circumstances surrounding the death and disappearance of their loved ones, and wish to receive their mortal remains so that they provide them with a dignified burial.[20] In spite of their anguish, women frequently demonstrate a steadfast determination to take on this difficult task. As Dušanka explained, "There is still a fire in my heart because I still do not know where to go and light a candle."[21] Kadefa Rizvanović, who lost her husband after the fall of Srebrenica, also described:

> The tragedy happened and it finished us, it destroyed us. But then we decided that there was no point in crying or waiting because no one was going to take care of our loved ones. So we women informed ourselves and started searching for the missing. [...] We only had a single question: Where are our missing? There is no door we did not knock on. [...] We staged rallies, protested at the Tuzla parliament building, went to the International Red Cross. [...] We asked only to be told where they took away our men, women, and children ...[22]

The desire to discover the fate and whereabouts of missing family members has mobilised women into action. "I was forced to start dealing with this out of necessity", explained one activist.[23] Another stated that, "there is not a person I did not speak to" about the disappearance of her family members.[24] Many of the wives, mothers, and sisters of missing persons have formed associations of families of missing persons in towns and cities across Bosnia. Through these organisations, women have become engaged in the difficult process of locating, recovering, identifying, and burying the mortal remains of their family members.

Locating the Missing: The Search for Mortal Remains

Frustrated with the lack of information and/or the slow progress on finding their missing relatives, women have frequently taken up the difficult task of searching themselves, in spite of the dangers involved. Milijana, for example, described leaving her young child and other relatives whilst the war was still ongoing, and travelling to the frontlines in search of information about her missing brother:

> I put myself into situations where I could have been arrested, killed, or raped only in order to obtain certain information that would help me

> discover whether my brother was alive or not, in order to know whether to search for him in detainee camps, among the living, or in cemeteries …[25]

Having obtained information as to the location of where her son was killed, Hajra walked through a minefield in search of his remains. She found a skull at the site where he was last seen alive, but its small size led her to believe it did not belong to her son.[26] Nura Begović recalled travelling across the inter-entity boundary line from the Federation to Republika Srpska soon after the war ended, in an attempt to obtain information about the missing from Srebrenica. It was a dangerous practice, she noted, since their informant "could have caused us trouble and we could have been killed".[27]

Yet the search for missing persons is often marked by disappointment and by frustration. Families frequently encounter "denial and silence" rather than "acknowledgement and disclosure" regarding the fate and whereabouts of their loved ones (Blaauw and Lahteenmaki 2002). Denial and silence represent significant obstacles to progress in resolving the issue of missing persons. Missing persons did not simply disappear during the war, but were instead arbitrarily executed, and their bodies disposed of in a clandestine manner.[28] The absence of information regarding their deaths is considered the greatest problem halting the search.[29] A number of women expressed anger and frustration that people remained silent about the fate of the missing, preventing families from finding relatives and from achieving some degree of closure. Jasmina pointed out, for example:

> Those who were there, who acted as commanders, or deputy commanders, must know where they are, where they are buried after they were killed. […] But there is not cooperation. No one wants to initiate it.[30]

Suvada Selimović also highlighted that in the case of the secondary grave at Crni Vrh in Srebrenica, where 629 bodies were exhumed in 2003, a great number of people were involved in digging the grave and in transporting and re-burying the bodies:

> They had to send trucks, had to send bulldozers, had to choose a location, gather people and dig. There was the stench. It smelled. […] It is impossible that no one had seen it. [..] You could not [re-bury the bodies] on your own.[31]

Not only did many people participate directly in these crimes, but there were many bystanders who possessed information regarding the location of mass graves but did not divulge this information.

Activists explained that some families suspect that their neighbours are deliberately withholding information regarding the deaths and disappearances of their loved ones.[32] Others suspect that representatives of other family associations hold secrets that they are not prepared to disclose.[33] It is clear that instances of denial and silence are particularly difficult forms of knowledge for survivors to deal with. "It hurts us", Ferida stated, "It is impossible that none of these people know."[34] This statement expresses a desire for honesty and disclosure—as another activist explained, there was a need for people to "finally put our cards on the table and admit things [since] we are not strangers to one another".[35]

There are a number of reasons why information is not forthcoming. Firstly, there is the fear of retaliation. As Azra Penava pointed out, potential informants are afraid that "the night will swallow them", that perpetrators will find out their identity and will subject them to reprisal attacks.[36] Secondly, there is a tension between the humanitarian needs of families to find the missing and the evidentiary needs of courts and tribunals involved in war crimes prosecutions (Stover and Shigekane 2002). Put simply, the threat of prosecution may deter individuals from coming forward with information (Clark 2010: 434). Information can however be provided to authorities anonymously.[37] The lack of information prevents the issue of missing persons from being resolved. It is also an obstacle to rebuilding trust within communities torn apart by inter-communal violence,[38] and to restoring trust in government and security institutions who frequently fail to divulge information on the fate and whereabouts of the disappeared.[39] As one woman explained, resolving the fate of the missing is a prerequisite of peace—for "true co-existence", she argued, "we must relieve ourselves of the millstone [of missing persons] tied around our necks."[40]

In addition to silence and denial, women have also encountered false information about the fate and whereabouts of their loved ones. Dobrinka, for example, whose son went missing in Krajina, recounted having received conflicting information about his fate—it was firstly reported that her son had died, next that he was severely wounded, and later that he was being held in an army barracks or prison. His remains were found in a mass grave in 1997, and he was formally identified through DNA in 2007.[41] Sabra Kolenović, moreover, spoke of false reports that those who disappeared after the fall of Srebrenica were alive and being held in detention camps.[42] This kind of misinformation aggravates the experience of ambiguous loss, creating false hope that missing family members might one day return alive.

Furthermore, some families have been contacted by unscrupulous individuals who attempt to extort money from them by claiming to possess information regarding their loved ones. This was a widespread problem immediately after the war when many families were desperate to find out if their missing relatives were still alive, and were prepared to hand over money for information,[43] even to suspected perpetrators.[44] Milijana was told that her brother and his friends were in detention camps, and was asked for money or reciprocal favours in order to save them.[45] Nura confirmed that attempts at extortion "happened constantly", and many families paid money to individuals who claimed that their relatives were still alive. However, she stated that families no longer trust this information and realise that their relatives will not be found alive.[46] In this regard, families have learned to be selective regarding who to trust.[47] Attempts to extort money from families do still occur however. When I visited MPI headquarters in Sarajevo, the mother of a missing person telephoned the offices deeply distressed because someone contacted her asking for money in exchange for information on the location of her missing child. MPI advise families not to pay for information, no matter how persuasive informants appear to be. Instead, the Institute offers to pay informants for information on grave locations, but only once the authenticity of their information is confirmed through exhumations.[48] Whilst financial rewards can be viewed as a pragmatic response to the need for information—as Ana noted, "half of those pits or caves where they threw people would not have been found if it had not been paid for"[49]—the silence and slow progress in resolving the issue of missing persons has also created the feeling that "everyone is manipulating with our bones, with our misery."[50]

Recovering and Identifying the Missing: Exhumations and the Identification Process

The recovery of remains from grave sites and confirming their identity through DNA technology is an important method of addressing the ambiguity surrounding the fate of missing persons. By providing scientific evidence of death, and physical remains to re-bury, the process aims to give families a sense of clarity following years of uncertainty. The positive identification and reburial of remains can end the experience of ambiguous loss, and allows families to fully mourn and to pay tribute to their loved ones. As one investigator remarked, for many families, "the moment

when they bury their closest relatives marks the point when the grieving begins".[51]

A number of women spoke of attending exhumations when new grave sites are located, hoping to witness the remains of their missing family members being recovered. This is another manifestation of agency, of active participation in the exhumation process. It can be a harrowing experience, as Suvada highlights:

> I can cope with anything, but what I saw there was horrific. When they excavated the site … [and] opened the bags, the bodies inside were complete … They were filled with water. After receiving air, the blood [vessels] burst … It was so terrible.[52]

Ferida echoed Suvada's words when she spoke of her distress at watching a mass grave being uncovered at the foot of Igman Mountain:

> I started shaking when [the remains of] people began to appear from down below. Imagine what it is like when the excavator starts to dig. Bones begin to appear and you do not know whom they belong to, whether they belong to your brother …. The trauma is horrific.[53]

Although harrowing, the exhumation and identification process was viewed by many women as both necessary and essential to resolving the issue of missing persons, highlighting how official discourse emanating from ICMP has been accepted and embraced. As one activist argued, the process of exhumation and identification enables families to bury their relatives "in a dignified way".[54] She therefore welcomed the process for its potential to satisfy the desire of families to honour their loved ones, and to re-invest their missing lives with dignity and respect.

The importance of DNA identification was specifically stressed by a number of interviewees. Seida Karabašić pointed out that without DNA analysis, many missing persons would never have been identified.[55] Another activist echoed Seida's point and expressed gratitude to ICMP for introducing the DNA-led identification method. These steps were of "great significance", she argued, "because there is no chance that the issue can be resolved without DNA analysis now".[56] In this way, DNA identification is embraced as a significant improvement on traditional methods, and as a valuable method to achieve progress on the issue of missing persons. For Suvada and Ema, DNA identification was also regarded as important to prevent one side falsely claiming mortal remains as their own.[57] In this

way, DNA identification is welcomed as a scientific and objective tool which can help to establish facts surrounding an issue which has been subjected to a great deal of politicisation. Semina Alekić noted its importance in giving missing persons back their identity—"a missing person is considered an NN [unidentified person] until their identity is established via DNA".[58] It enables the co-mingled and disarticulated remains of missing persons to be re-invested with individual identity.[59] Moreover, Kadefa expressed satisfaction that DNA results proving who was killed can serve as evidence in criminal investigations, thereby contributing to the construction of a historical truth.[60] Whilst earlier responses largely accepted official discourse, Kadefa's response demonstrates that she adapted this discourse to make it fit with other goals, that of criminal prosecutions. Finally, the process of locating, recovering, and identifying missing persons was explicitly linked to peace by a number of women activists. Ferida, for example, stated that "the war will continue to be fought in my mind until I find my [family] members", and peace will be achieved "when we find each and every missing person".[61] Seida also stated that for her, peace meant not only the end of fighting but also finding and re-burying the missing, providing them with "a place where they will rest".[62] In doing so, these women expanded upon official discourse, to make it fit with a broader peacebuilding discourse.

Whilst families long to find their loved ones, the identification process they must undergo is extremely challenging. Explaining how difficult it was to receive confirmation that her husband had been identified, Hajra noted, "You have a feeling as if [the news of his death] is happening again at that very moment." She noted, however, that the uncertainty of waiting to discover the fate of missing loved ones was worse by comparison. Still waiting to find her missing son, she noted, "I know where he is, but I cannot get to him."[63] Milijana highlighted that the identifications process provokes highly ambivalent feelings. She recalled thinking on her way to receive the DNA results, "Oh, God! Let it be God's will that it is my brother, that the DNA results are positive." But the next moment she thought, "Oh, let that not be God's will, because it will mean he is really dead and gone, and this is the end." Although she desperately wanted to find and bury her brother's mortal remains, when she was finally provided with positive DNA results she felt joy and grief simultaneously:

> I did not know whether to rejoice or to cry. It is a state of confusion where you want to scream out of joy at one moment, and in the next you become petrified and say, "So, this is the end. He was killed after all. He is gone.

> There is no hope that he might be alive somewhere." And then you return home and you must tell that to your mother, his children and his wife. And you do not know how to do it, whether you should tell it as joyous news, meaning, "There, we finally found him, we finally identified him, and we will finally bury him. He will have his own grave, we will have a place to go and cry, light a candle, and we will know that his bones are resting there."[64]

In the end, the positive identification did bring relief to her mother. The family were able to bury Milijana's brother, honour him with a funeral, and now have a place to mourn. They are still searching, however, for the rest of his skeleton.

As these responses highlight, the identification procedure is deeply upsetting for the families involved. It is therefore significant that women working in family associations have built structures of support to help relatives through the process. Dobrinka, for example, spoke of the importance of providing help and support to families:

> When the last two bodies were identified here, I did not allow them to go to the identification on their own. I went there with them. Such things upset me. I immediately remember what it was like for me when I went to [my son's] identification. … I had somebody's protection when I went there. Everyone feels stronger if they are accompanied by someone; it is easier.[65]

While it is difficult for her to provide this type of support, since it brings back painful memories, she was determined to help others through the process. In addition to accompanying relatives to identifications, some women working in family associations are also directly involved in notifying families that their relatives have been found. Kadefa, for example, noted that this was a difficult task:

> We have no finances for me to take a car and go to the family home and prepare them for it. I have to call them on the phone instead. It was the hardest for me when I notified a mother … who lives in Vogošća now. She simply went numb and I did not know whether she was alive or not because I spoke to her over the phone.[66]

Ema also spoke of how hard it is to break the news to relatives that their loved one's remains have been found. She recalled one occasion of telling a woman that her father had been found, and said she was "struggling with the thought of how to inform the family". Whilst emphasising its

importance, she also described this aspect of her work as a "burden", and said that it was "a terrible shock" each time she helped a family through the process.[67]

Exhumations and DNA analysis do not always lead to positive identification, as several women highlighted. Indeed, the process can lead to frustration and disappointment. Sometimes the bone fragments found in grave sites are too small for DNA analysis to be successfully conducted.[68] In many instances, only one or two bones, instead of complete skeletons, are recovered and identified.[69] When more than one sibling is missing, it is sometimes impossible to establish through DNA analysis which one sibling has been found.[70] Furthermore, when bones are scattered across different grave sites, families may undergo multiple exhumations and identifications,[71] prolonging their anguish. In addition, the problem of false identifications was highlighted as a problematic issue.[72] These responses highlight that in spite of the deployment of advanced forensic technology and expertise, many families do not find a sense of closure or an end to their situation of ambiguous loss through the identification process. They point to the limits of the exhumation and identification process, particularly the use of DNA.

In addition to highlighting the limitations of scientific technology in resolving the issue of missing persons, some survivors went further by questioning the objectivity and professionalism of the institutions involved in the process. For those still waiting for their loved ones to be identified, the speed at which exhumations and identifications were being conducted was experienced as unbearably slow. Hajra, for example, expressed disappointment at the slow progress made in conducting exhumations, noting that "the entire summer [has] passed by and not a single mass grave was dug out".[73] Another activist expressed concern that the institutions involved in searching for missing persons were failing to take action by shifting responsibility from themselves to others.[74]

Other responses shed light on the politicisation of the process. Jelena, on the one hand, echoed recent rhetoric emanating from the Republika Srpska Operative Team, when she noted that the search for the missing had slowed down since MPI was established, with far fewer identifications being made.[75] On the other hand, others raised concerns regarding the establishment of the RS Operative Team as a parallel institution and the hostility of the RS political elite towards MPI. One activist in the Federation, for example, worried that MPI's work was being undermined by politicians in Republika Srpska who are "seeking to destroy" the

Institute.[76] Ana noted that divisions had been created among associations within the RS, with those who support MPI rather than the RS Operative Team being branded as "traitors".[77] Furthermore, Jelena questioned the objectivity of the MPI, pointing to allegations that one of its directors was a member of the Party of Democratic Action (or SDA), a Bosniak nationalist political party.[78] These responses display various degrees of disappointment and distrust in domestic institutions engaged in the issue of missing persons. They also demonstrate the power of ethno-nationalist discourse which demands that women take up positions not only as victims but also as ethnicised subjects, forcing women to make decisions regarding which institutions to support in their quest to discover the fate and whereabouts of missing persons.

Notably, the international organisation ICMP has also not escaped criticism. Whilst acknowledging its significance in introducing DNA-led identification, Jelena alleged that ICMP displayed a biased and "one-sided approach", with Bosniak victims prioritised over Serb and Croat victims. Furthermore, she argued that ICMP had unfairly focused on "finding and burying Bosniak victims and processing Serbs for committing [crimes] against Bosniaks".[79] Dušanka echoed this view, voicing frustration that she was still waiting to find her brother and father after 20 years, whilst the majority of those who disappeared following the fall of Srebrenica have been identified.[80] This highlights that the missing of Srebrenica were perceived to receive preferential treatment by ICMP and other organisations.

Furthermore, a number of women contested the scientific nature of the exhumation and identification process. Dušanka stated that "confusion" had been created regarding the process of DNA identification, due firstly to the conflicting advice she received regarding the use of blood samples, and secondly to the fact that false identifications had previously been made. She pointed out that she "no longer knew who to trust or what door to knock on" to help her find and identify her missing father and brother, and demanded that the institutions involved in finding missing persons "either help me or stop causing me damage".[81] Her response conveyed a feeling of anger and a sense of powerlessness regarding her situation. Although Dušanka had been actively engaged in searching for her missing relatives, she felt extremely frustrated that her actions had not transformed her situation. Another interviewee, whose relative was identified through DNA, expressed a fear that she had buried the wrong person. "I accepted the body, they said it was him", she explained, "But … I will

die doubting."[82] Due to the large distance between the at which location her relative disappeared, and the location of the grave site where he was found, the fact he was buried without clothes that she believes could have helped identify him, and the fact that the DNA match was confirmed using blood drawn from his mother and aunt rather than mother and father, she suspects that she has buried the remains of another person. DNA confirmation has therefore neither eased her pain nor taken away the uncertainty surrounding her relative's death.

Notably, there were claims by women from associations within Republika Srpska that the total number of victims killed in the Srebrenica genocide had been inflated through the exhumation and identification process. Jelena, for example, denied that 8,000 people were killed in the massacre, and claimed that the bodies of people killed in other towns were being transported to the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery and buried there.[83] Another activist expressed a wish that the bodies buried in Potočari be re-exhumed and re-identified, to prove that they are indeed victims of the genocide. She suspects that Serb victims are being exhumed from grave sites and reburied as Bosniak victims.[84] Yet another claimed that Bosnian wartime leader Alija Izetbegović had "honoured certain people who had died a long time before Srebrenica" by including them in the list of missing persons, and also alleged that bodies were being exhumed from other graveyards and reburied in Potočari.[85] These responses echo the claims made by Republika Srpska officials that the number of victims killed in Srebrenica had been exaggerated.[86] Interestingly, questions regarding the accuracy of the data on missing persons were not only confined to interviewees within Republika Srpska. One Bosniak activist I interviewed claimed that she knew of families who had successfully registered relatives as missing persons in order to obtain social protection benefits, when in fact their relatives had either died before the war or were still alive but were now living abroad.[87]

It is clear from these responses that many women hold a significant degree of hope that the process of recovering and identifying missing persons will establish the fate and whereabouts of those who disappeared during the 1990s conflict, and draw an end to years of uncertainty. In this regard, women have demonstrated their willingness to participate in exhumations and formal identifications, and their readiness to provide support to others, in spite of the distress and disappointment entailed. However, some women expressed deep suspicion of professionals working on the issue of missing persons, who are not viewed as objective, reliable sources

of information and expertise in this area. Distrust and disillusionment regarding this process have emerged following unidentifiable remains, false identifications, slow progress, and the ongoing politicisation of the issue of missing persons. Feelings of frustration and disappointment are also connected to wider project of TJ, as the next section highlights.

Struggles for Recognition: Women's Activism Around TJ

TJ discourse promotes modernist notions of "reason, progress, 'improvement' and redemption" (Colvin 2008: 416), legitimising the introduction of mechanisms such as criminal trials and truth-telling mechanisms through a progressive narrative that connotes the transition from past violence to future peace (Moon 2006, 2008; Kent 2011). However, as Kent points out, these narratives are very often falsely "seductive" because "they purport to provide a simple solution to complex historical and political problems" (Kent 2011: 437). These narratives of justice are reflected in the Bosnian context with TJ mechanisms legitimised as helpful and even essential for dealing with the traumatic legacy of wartime violence. Strikingly, however, a number of women worked to disrupt this progressive narrative by pointing to the ways in which TJ mechanisms have frequently resulted in the construction of hierarchies of suffering in the post-war period. An examination of women's responses to wider TJ processes highlights that women have also become engaged in struggles to seek recognition of their suffering and to contest their exclusion and marginalisation by international and local elites.

A number of women from associations representing families of missing and killed Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats stressed the importance of criminal trials. Mirela, for example, stressed that war crimes trials demonstrate to victims' and their families that crimes have not been forgotten, and to ensure "that perpetrators do not walk around freely", although she mentioned that families are often disappointed that perpetrators were being given short sentences in relation to their crimes.[88] Hajra also expressed annoyance that perpetrators are given light sentences, for example, through the use of plea bargains, and was concerned that the ICTY does not take families' views into account when sentencing. However, she supported the prosecution of war crimes perpetrators, arguing that the ICTY should prosecute more perpetrators and not merely high-level criminals (or "big fish"), and expressed a desire to see UN peacekeepers

held responsible for their failure to protect residents of Srebrenica from Bosnian Serb attacks.[89] Nura suggested that although families benefit little from trials since "they cannot bring back their most loved ones", it was good that war criminals are arrested and punished "for the sake of a better future" and to prevent future violence. She did, however, express concerns that survivors were not being adequately informed about the progress of investigations and trials at the BiH State Court.[90] Ema, meanwhile, argued that trials give families "a sense of justice, justice for missing persons". However, she said victims have been frustrated at the slow progress, at low sentences, at the lack of information about where criminals are being held (since they do not know whether they have been released or escaped, if they walk the streets), at the practice of early release, at the use of silence as defence so that mass graves cannot be found, at only certain crimes being included on list of charges and not others, and at the fact that some perpetrators are dying before being convicted.[91] In relation to trials ongoing at the time of interview, a hope was expressed that criminal trials (e.g. against Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić) would produce verdicts confirming that genocide had been committed in Sanski Most, Ključ and Prijedor,[92] as well as in Zvornik.[93] Suvada, meanwhile, pointed out that trial verdicts were also significant in enabling commemorations to take place in contested sites.[94]

Strikingly, however, there was a profound sense of disappointment and disillusionment with criminal trials among many of the women I spoke to in Republika Srpska. Concerns were raised that Bosnian Serbs were being unfairly targeted by prosecutors of both the ICTY and domestic courts, and that the perpetrators of crimes committed against Serbs were being largely ignored. One activist, for example, spoke of being left with the impression that

> … only after a thousand Serbs were tried at the Hague, [that] someone remembered we should prosecute Bosniaks and others who committed crimes against Serbs. … Serbs were sentenced to 1,100 or 1,200 years in total. Croats … to over 170 years in total, and Muslims … to less than 10 years in total.[95]

Another reinforced this point by arguing:

> … over a hundred Serbs were sentenced, whereas a single Bosniak perhaps was, and now everyone thinks, "Look! It turns out that only we are criminals. Who was killing us?" … It turns out we were killing ourselves. Well, we were not. Bosniaks were not killing themselves, and neither were we.[96]

Another interviewee expressed a concern that both the ICTY and the BiH State Court take as their starting point the crimes that took place in and around Srebrenica in July 1995, "and never seem to be able to get to 1992, to those victims". She argued that Srebrenica had taken precedence over other crimes perpetrated against both Bosniaks and Serbs.[97] In addition, Milijana argued that "law and justice failed their test" at both the ICTY and domestic courts. In her view:

> Justice is killed at those courts, because not everyone is tried in an equal way, because people are not sentenced equally for committing the same crimes, and because people are tried according to different laws. Some are proclaimed heroes for committing a crime and others are proclaimed criminals for committing that very crime. People are still not ready to face the evil committed on behalf of them, by groups of their people, and they are not ready to distance themselves from that and say, "It is a crime and the one who committed it should be held responsible, no matter what his name is." And people should simply say that they did not authorize their leaders or anyone else who did it, who issued orders, to do that on behalf of them.[98]

Her response highlights the inequalities of justice being provided through war crimes trials. Significantly, she points out that legal recognition of criminal accountability does not always lead to social recognition of the harms committed by one side against the Other. Instead, those who committed criminal acts are often greeted as heroes within their communities rather than rejected as criminals.[99] Milijana argues that there is a need for communities within Bosnia to take on responsibility by acknowledging crimes that were committed in their name, whilst making clear that these crimes were not committed with their approval.

This last point also introduces notions of collective guilt and responsibility. Whilst criminal trials aim to individualise responsibility for war crimes, there is a tendency for verdicts to be interpreted in ways that construct notions of collective innocence or collective guilt (Selimović 2010). For example, the representative of a family association representing a large number of Bosniak victims constructed Bosnian Muslims as innocent victims of the Bosnian war (stating that "Muslims of Europe are a peaceful nation … [who] never started a war nor initiated one") in opposition to Bosnian Serbs who were depicted as belonging to a "criminal nation".[100] Such statements lead to frustration that Bosnian Serbs are being unfairly collectively "branded" as criminals,[101] or as "genocidal" people.[102] In contrast, Mirela was keen to stress that "not all Serbs killed, not all are criminals",[103]

thereby re-focusing attention on individual rather than collective guilt. Zdravka meanwhile resisted the notion of collective guilt, pointing out that "no one was allowed to commit a crime on behalf of me" and emphasised that those who committed crimes should be held responsible. Whilst stressing that there was a need for Bosnian Serbs to acknowledge that "a dreadful crime was committed against Bosniaks" in her municipality, in her view there was also a need for Bosniaks to "admit that they prepared for the war as well".[104]

Women and Peacebuilding: The Politics of Motherhood, Widowhood, and Victimhood

Some feminists have sought to boost women's roles in peacebuilding by arguing from a standpoint perspective that women have a *distinctive contribution* to make to peace, having been socialised more than men to be "relational thinkers" (Brock-Utne 1989: 15) who generally privilege an "ethic of care" over an "ethic of justice", and human relationships over abstract principles (Gilligan 1982). The practice of mothering, encompassing as it does the protection, nurturing, and social training of children, and the maternal thinking it gives rise to have been held to provide the foundation for peace (Ruddick 1990; see also Boulding 1992; Reardon 1993). Women peace activists have often usefully deployed motherhood as a shared identity in order to mobilise support, to build networks of solidarity between a plurality of individuals and groups, and to legitimise their campaigns for peaceful change (Steans 2006: 59). Interestingly, in some of my interviews with women who had lost children in the war, motherhood was described as an identity which enables women to bridge differences across ethno-national divides. Dobrinka, for example, stated that "all mothers cry the same tears".[105] Another activist argued:

> … we mothers feel compassion for other mothers; we understand one another and our story is the same. That is what connects us.[106]

Furthermore, in another interview, the experience of widowhood was mentioned in similar terms:

> ... disregarding what nationality people belong to, the same sorrow afflicts them. A woman who lost her husband, who meant the world to her, feels the same as I do over the loss of my husband.[107]

In addition, Ana, whose husband and children survived the war but had lost other close family members described how she and other relatives of missing persons "find common ground with those whose souls are aching".[108] She went on to argue:

> When we attend our joint meetings, I feel most relieved. [I think to myself] that mother feels pain in her heart and that sister too.[109]

In these accounts, the experience of losing children, husbands, and other family members is described as enabling women to break down ethno-national barriers and to engage empathically with the Other. Constructions of "motherhood", "widowhood", and "victimhood" are deployed in these examples to reach out across difference and find common ground.

Notably, women from associations of families of missing persons have been actively working to create and maintain dialogue across ethno-national divides, to work together on common projects, and to equalise their legal status.[110] Some associations campaigned for the Law on Missing Persons to be established, for example. In doing so, they aimed to ensure that all victims and their families had equal rights under the law. Indeed, the associations had significant input in drafting the law. Semina Alekić explained that family associations used their position to advocate for the establishment of MPI as a single state-level institution, to enable all data on missing persons to be combined and to coordinate efforts to find the missing across the country.[111] Family associations have also become engaged in joint commemoration ceremonies. A joint commemoration ceremony was held in Brčko whilst I undertook my fieldwork to mark the International Day of the Disappeared. It was organised by the Advisory Board of the Missing Persons Institute (comprised of six representatives of family associations) in cooperation with associations of families of missing persons, with the support of ICMP, the ICRC and the Government of Brcko District.[112] In addition, approximately 30 representatives of associations from across the Western Balkans have become involved in the Regional Coordination of Missing Persons Family Associations from the former Yugoslavia. This regional coordination body aims to coordinate efforts being undertaken by family associations across region, to help advocate for the resolution of all cases of persons who remain unaccounted for following the 1990s conflicts in the former Yugoslavia.[113] The goal of the initiative is to apply pressure on government authorities in the region

to disclose information on the location of the missing, in order to "end the agonizing uncertainty regarding the fate of their missing loved ones".[114] It also aims to "initiate dialogue on the establishment of a lasting memory of the disappeared".[115]

However, when maintaining dialogue across divides proves difficult, identity politics may prove an essential alternative to enable women to articulate their needs (Byrne 2014), as the previous section on TJ highlights. In BiH and other (post-)conflict contexts where war was fought along ethno-nationalist lines, mourning mothers and widows become powerful symbols of ethnic/national victimhood (Helms 2013: 7–10). The interests of women and of nationalists are not necessarily mutually exclusive (Žarkov 2007: 78). In these circumstances, claims for justice that are framed around ethno-national identities can help women challenge experiences of social and political marginalisation (Byrne 2014: 121). Women may find it useful to articulate claims for justice *through* ethnicity rather than *beyond* it (Žarkov 2007: 75).

Conclusion

The violent disappearance of individuals in wartime has a devastating impact on the families who are left behind. In Bosnia, the uncertainty surrounding the fate and whereabouts of missing persons has left their families in a situation of "ambiguous loss", with many having waited for over 20 years for official confirmation that their loved ones are alive or dead. Whilst most families realise that their loved ones will not reappear, their ongoing wait to receive information and to locate their missing relatives leaves many burdened with "complicated grief". In spite of the unfathomable pain and uncertainty provoked by wartime disappearances, this chapter has highlighted women's remarkable capacity to cope with and work through their trauma and grief by actively engaging in the process of locating, recovering and identifying the missing. This conclusion highlights various manifestations of agency and resistance that were articulated by women in relation to the issue of missing persons.

Finding the missing has been the key priority of families who are still searching for their loved ones. Many women described in interviews that they were compelled into action, and have sought over many years to establish where their loved ones were killed and lie buried. Women spoke of having taken it upon themselves to find their family members—by searching for and exchanging information, and by visiting potential

grave locations. This *active search* for missing persons is a key mode of agency manifested in relation to missing persons. Another mode is their *cooperation* with existing institutions by registering missing persons, providing blood samples, attending exhumations and identification processes. In many ways, women have accepted and embraced official discourse on this issue, and have taken up active roles in the tracing process, both within and outside of official channels. They have also constructed much-needed *structures of support*, to help other families through this process.

A wider spectrum of responses emerged in relation to the process of DNA identification, however. Discursive manifestations of agency and resistance are found in these responses. Many women welcomed this technology for its potential to satisfy their desire to bury relatives, to establish facts around the identity of exhumed remains, and to re-invest the missing with identity and dignity. Whilst these views largely take up and accept official discourse, others attempted to *expand* the official discourse by linking identifications to justice and to peacebuilding processes. Others, however, highlighted the limitations of scientific technology in resolving the issue of missing persons, and pointed to the politicisation of the process. Indeed, some women clearly *resisted* understandings of the process as objective and scientific, and constructed MPI and ICMP as biased and one-sided.

Distrust and disillusionment have emerged following unidentifiable remains, false identifications, slow progress in locating graves, and the ongoing politicisation of missing persons. It is also linked to wider TJ processes which are held to have constructed hierarchies of suffering along ethno-national lines. In this regard, it is notable that some women working within family associations have *embraced identity politics* in order to articulate their goals, articulating claims for justice around ethno-nationalist identities. Others have been striving to *create and maintain dialogue and cooperation* across ethno-national divides, working together, for example, on common projects that jointly commemorate missing persons and that equalise the legal status of their families.

Notes

1. On the long-term psychological impact on relatives of missing persons in BiH, see for example Baraković et al. (2013); Powell et al. (2010).

2. For a study on the experience of ambiguous loss among families of disappeared persons in post-conflict Nepal see Robins (2010).
3. Confidential Interview with “Mirela”, Association of Families of Missing Persons, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 15/06/12.
4. Hajra Ćatić, Association of Citizens, “Women of Srebrenica”, *Personal Interview,* Tuzla, 13/09/11.
5. Confidential Interview with “Mirela”, Association of Families of Missing Persons, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 15/06/12.
6. Ema Čekić, Association of Families of Missing Persons of Vogošća Municipality, *Personal Interview,* Vogošča, 07/10/11.
7. Mirela explained that mothers find it particularly difficult to accept that the missing child or children are dead.
   Confidential Interview with “Mirela”, Association of Families of Missing Persons, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 15/06/12.
8. Investigator with BiH Missing Persons Institute, *Personal Interview,* Mostar, 13/10/11.
9. President of Association of Families of Missing Soldiers and Civilians of Semberija and Majevica. *Personal Interview,* Bijeljina, 12/06/12.
10. Milka Kovačić, Association of Missing Persons, Bratunac-Srebrenica, *Personal Interview,* Bratunac, 14/09/11.
11. Ferida Nišić, Treasurer of Association for Tracing Captured and Missing from Hadžići, *Personal Interview,* Hadžići, 28/06/11.
12. Staka Petrović, Municipal Organization of Families of Captured and Killed Soldiers and Missing Civilians, Zvornik, *Personal Interview,* Zvornik, 16/05/12.
13. Zdravka Karlica, President of the Organization of Families of Families of Captured and Killed Soldiers and Missing Civilians of Prijedor, *Personal Interview,* Banja Luka, 18/10/11.
14. Ema Čekić, Association of Families of Missing Persons of Vogošća Municipality, *Personal Interview,* Vogošča, 07/10/11.
15. Milka Kovačić, Association of Missing Persons, Bratunac-Srebrenica, *Personal Interview,* Bratunac, 14/09/11.
16. Dobrinka Trifković, Association of Families of Captured and Fallen Soldiers and Civilians RS – Municipal organization Bijeljina, *Personal Interview,* Bijeljina, 14/05/12.
17. President of Association of Families of Missing Soldiers and Civilians of Semberija and Majevica. *Personal Interview,* Bijeljina, 12/06/12.
18. Matthew Holiday, Coordinator, Justice and Civil Society Initiatives Unit, ICMP, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 13/05/11.
19. Milijana Bojić, Founder of the Union of Associations of Families of Detained and Missing Persons of Republika Srpska, *Personal Interview,* Banja Luka, 18/10/11.

20. This desire was expressed by all interviewees who were still searching for missing family members.
21. Confidential Interview with "Dušanka", Association of Families of Missing and Killed Soldiers from Republika Srpska, *Personal Interview,* Republika Srpska, 10/05/12.
22. Kadefa Rizvanović, Association Women of Podrinje, *Personal Interview,* Ilidža, 23/06/11.
23. President of Association of Families of Missing Soldiers and Civilians of Semberija and Majevica. *Personal Interview,* Bijeljina, 12/06/12.
24. Confidential Interview with "Ana", Association of Families of Missing Persons, *Personal Interview,* FBiH, 03/05/12.
25. Milijana Bojić, Founder of the Union of Associations of Families of Detained and Missing Persons of Republika Srpska, *Personal Interview,* Banja Luka, 18/10/11.
26. Hajra Ćatić, Association of Citizens, "Women of Srebrenica", *Personal Interview,* Tuzla, 13/09/11.
27. Nura Begović, Association of Citizens, "Women of Srebrenica", *Personal Interview,* Tuzla, 13/09/11.
28. Amor Mašović, Director of BiH Missing Persons' Institute, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 04/11/11.
29. Investigator with BiH Missing Persons Institute, *Personal Interview,* Mostar, 13/10/11.
30. Confidential Interview with "Jasmina", formerly with an Association of Families of Missing Persons, *Personal Interview,* FBiH, 05/10/11.
31. Suvada Selimović, President of Association "Anima 2005", *Personal Interview,* Đulići, 08/06/12.
32. Due to the fact that this is a sensitive issue, I have not disclosed the name of this interviewee.
33. Due to the sensitivity surrounding this issue, I have not disclosed the name of this interviewee.
34. Ferida Nišić, Treasurer of Association for Tracing Captured and Missing from Hadžići, *Personal Interview,* Hadžići, 28/06/11.
35. President of Association of Families of Missing Soldiers and Civilians of Semberija and Majevica. *Personal Interview,* Bijeljina, 12/06/12.
36. Azra Penava, Association of Detained and Missing from Herzegovina-Neretva Canton, Mostar, *Personal Interview,* Mostar, 12/10/11.
37. Investigator with BiH Missing Persons Institute, *Personal Interview,* Mostar, 13/10/11.
38. Ferida for example argued that finding the missing was a prerequisite for reconciliation. In her view, "reconciliation will follow … the revelation of truth about the missing".

Ferida Nišić, Treasurer of Association for Tracing Captured and Missing from Hadžići, *Personal Interview,* Hadžići, 28/06/11.

39. This is of particular concern to returnees. In Ana's case, two of her relatives disappeared after being detained at a police station, whilst her parents were killed with other civilians as they fled their town in a convoy of refugees. Despite collecting documentation of her relatives' arrests, and in spite of the existence of witnesses who saw the refugee convoy being attacked, no investigations into their disappearances have been made. She argued: "The only thing needed in relation to [these cases] is pressure. I have obtained all the information on my own."
Confidential Interview with "Ana", Association of Families of Missing Persons, *Personal Interview,* FBiH, 03/05/12.
40. Representative of Family Association of Killed and Missing Defenders of Homeland War, Bugojno, *Personal Interview,* Bugojno, 28/05/12.
41. Dobrinka Trifković, Association of Families of Captured and Fallen Soldiers and Civilians RS – Municipal organization Bijeljina, *Personal Interview,* Bijeljina, 14/05/12.
42. Sabra Kolenović, Association of Citizens, "Mothers of Srebrenica and Žepa Enclaves", *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 21/09/11.
43. Amor Mašović, Director of BiH Missing Persons' Institute, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 04/11/11.
Amor Mašović stated that in one case, the father of two missing sons paid 50,000 Deutschmarks to a now convicted war criminal in the hope that one of his sons would be released from detention. In fact, his son had been killed, and was discovered in a mass grave in 2008.
44. This emerged from a roundtable in Sarajevo organised by Impunity Watch on "Improving the Gender Sensitivity of Processes of Truth, Justice, Reparations and Non-Repetition". It was held on 27 April 2012 and was attended by international and local NGOs.
45. Milijana Bojić, Founder of the Union of Associations of Families of Detained and Missing Persons of Republika Srpska, *Personal Interview,* Banja Luka, 18/10/11.
46. Nura Begović, Association of Citizens, "Women of Srebrenica", *Personal Interview,* Tuzla, 13/09/11.
47. Hajra Ćatić, Association of Citizens, "Women of Srebrenica", *Personal Interview,* Tuzla, 13/09/11.
Hajra explained more trust is placed in surviving witnesses who do not seek payment for information.
48. Amor Mašović, Director of BiH Missing Persons' Institute, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 04/11/11.

Amor Mašović stated that up to 99% of calls from informants to families were false and constitute attempts to profit financially from the issue of missing persons. However, he confirmed that there have been cases where the information has proven to be authentic.

49. Confidential Interview with "Ana", Association of Families of Missing Persons, *Personal Interview,* FBiH, 03/05/12.
50. Ferida Nišić, Treasurer of Association for Tracing Captured and Missing from Hadžići, *Personal Interview,* Hadžići, 28/06/11.
51. Investigator with BiH Missing Persons Institute, *Personal Interview,* Mostar, 13/10/11.
52. Suvada Selimović, President of Association "Anima 2005", *Personal Interview,* Đulići, 08/06/12.
53. Ferida Nišić, Treasurer of Association for Tracing Captured and Missing from Hadžići, *Personal Interview,* Hadžići, 28/06/11.
54. Representative of Family Association of Killed and Missing Defenders of Homeland War, Bugojno, *Personal Interview,* Bugojno, 28/05/12.
55. Seida Karabašić, Association of Women from Prijedor "Izvor", *Personal Interview,* Prijedor, 19/10/11.
56. President of Association of Families of Missing Soldiers and Civilians of Semberija and Majevica. *Personal Interview,* Bijeljina, 12/06/12.
57. Suvada Selimović, President of Association "Anima 2005", *Personal Interview,* Đulići, 08/06/12; Ema Čekić, Association of Families of Missing Persons of Vogošća Municipality, *Personal Interview,* Vogošča, 07/10/11.
58. Semina Alekić, Organization of Families of Killed, Captured and Missing Persons "Vrbanja" Kotor Varoš *Personal Interview,* Travnik, 29/05/12.
59. This particular point has been emphasised by Wagner (2008) in her fascinating study of the significance of DNA identification in restoring individual identity and dignity to the missing of Srebrenica.
60. Kadefa Rizvanović, Association Women of Podrinje, *Personal Interview,* Ilidža, 23/06/11.
61. Ferida Nišić, Treasurer of Association for Tracing Captured and Missing from Hadžići, *Personal Interview,* Hadžići, 28/06/11.
62. Seida Karabašić, Association of Women from Prijedor "Izvor", *Personal Interview,* Prijedor, 19/10/11.
63. Hajra Ćatić, Association of Citizens, "Women of Srebrenica", *Personal Interview,* Tuzla, 13/09/11.
64. Milijana Bojić, Founder of the Union of Associations of Families of Detained and Missing Persons of Republika Srpska, *Personal Interview,* Banja Luka, 18/10/11.
65. Dobrinka Trifković, Association of Families of Captured and Fallen Soldiers and Civilians RS – Municipal organization Bijeljina, *Personal Interview,* Bijeljina, 14/05/12.

66. Kadefa Rizvanović, Association Women of Podrinje, *Personal Interview,* Ilidža, 23/06/11.
67. Ema Čekić, Association of Families of Missing Persons of Vogošća Municipality, *Personal Interview,* Vogošča, 07/10/11.
68. Representative of Family Association of Killed and Missing Defenders of Homeland War, Bugojno, *Personal Interview,* Bugojno, 28/05/12.
    It was mentioned that what were believed to be the remains of three men were found during an exhumation near Bugojno, however the largest bone fragments were too small to analyse, being the size of a small door-key.
69. Munira Subašić, Association of Citizens, "Mothers of Srebrenica and Žepa Enclaves", *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 21/09/11.
    Munira highlighted that one mother in the Association has been able to bury only two bones of her son's body.
70. Confidential Interview with "Mirela", Association of Families of Missing Persons, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 15/06/12.
    In one case involving victims of the Korićanske Stijene massacre, where 200 men were killed in August 1992, one bone was found which could only be identified as belonging to one of two brothers through DNA analysis.
71. Seida Karabašić, Association of Women from Prijedor "Izvor", *Personal Interview,* Prijedor, 19/10/11.
    Seida mentioned that there are cases where the bones of one person are found buried in four or even five locations, which is extremely stressful for families who must go through the process of identification and re-burial each time more remains are found.
72. President of Association of Families of Missing Soldiers and Civilians of Semberija and Majevica. *Personal Interview,* Bijeljina, 12/06/12; Seida Karabašić, Association of Women from Prijedor "Izvor", *Personal Interview,* Prijedor, 19/10/11.
73. Hajra Ćatić, Association of Citizens, "Women of Srebrenica", *Personal Interview,* Tuzla, 13/09/11.
74. President of Association of Families of Missing Soldiers and Civilians of Semberija and Majevica. *Personal Interview,* Bijeljina, 12/06/12.
75. Confidential Interview with "Jelena", Association of Families of Missing and Killed Soldiers from Republika Srpska, *Personal Interview,* Republika Srpska, 10/05/12.
    Another activist noted that only two missing persons from her municipality had been identified since 2007, in comparison to 100 missing persons who were identified between 2003 and 2007. For reasons of privacy, I have not disclosed the name of this interviewee.
76. Due to the fact that the politicisation of this process is a sensitive issue, I have not disclosed the name of this interviewee.

77. Confidential Interview with "Ana", Association of Families of Missing Persons, *Personal Interview,* FBiH, 03/05/12.
78. Confidential Interview with "Jelena", Association of Families of Missing and Killed Soldiers from Republika Srpska, *Personal Interview,* Republika Srpska, 10/05/12.
79. Confidential Interview with "Dušanka", Association of Families of Missing and Killed Soldiers from Republika Srpska, *Personal Interview,* Republika Srpska, 10/05/12.
80. Confidential Interview with "Jelena", Association of Families of Missing and Killed Soldiers from Republika Srpska, *Personal Interview,* Republika Srpska, 10/05/12
    6877 persons missing after the 1995 fall of Srebrenica have been identified, of a total of approximately 8000 missing.
81. Confidential Interview with "Dušanka", Association of Families of Missing and Killed Soldiers from Republika Srpska, *Personal Interview,* Republika Srpska, 10/05/12.
82. Confidential Interview with Representative of Family Association.
    For reasons of privacy, I have not disclosed the name of this interviewee.
83. Confidential Interview with "Jelena", Association of Families of Missing and Killed Soldiers from Republika Srpska, *Personal Interview,* Republika Srpska, 10/05/12.
84. Confidential Interview with Representative of Family Association.
    Due to the sensitive nature of this topic, I have not disclosed the name of this interviewee.
85. Confidential Interview with Representative of Family Association.
    Again, due to the sensitive nature of this topic, I have not disclosed the name of this interviewee.
86. Such claims have been publicised in BiH media, and were also articulated in an interview with Nedeljko Mitrović who alleged that 350 of those buried in the Srebrenica-Potočari Cemetery were not killed following the fall of Srebrenica.
    Nedeljko Mitrović, President of the Organisation of Families of Captured and Killed Fighters and Missing Civilians of Republika Srpska, *Personal Interview,* Banja Luka, 18/10/11.
87. Confidential Interview with "Jasmina", formerly with an Association of Families of Missing Persons, *Personal Interview,* FBiH, 05/10/11.
88. Confidential Interview with "Mirela", Association of Families of Missing Persons, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 15/06/12.
89. Hajra Ćatić, Association of Citizens, "Women of Srebrenica", *Personal Interview,* Tuzla, 13/09/11.
    Hajra mentioned that she raised concerns with the ICTY regarding the reduced sentences given to Momir Nikolić (who entered a guilty plea revealing the location of mass graves and apologised to families for his

actions) and Biljana Plavšić (who was also given a reduced sentence). The ICTY responded by suggesting that families should not be concerned with the length of sentencing, and should be satisfied with finding their family members and burying them decently. This response suggests that ICTY may at times fail to appreciate the importance of trials in providing satisfaction to victims and their families.

90. Nura Begović, Association of Citizens, "Women of Srebrenica", *Personal Interview,* Tuzla, 13/09/11.
91. Ema Čekić, Association of Families of Missing Persons of Vogošća Municipality, *Personal Interview,* Vogošča, 07/10/11.
92. Confidential Interview with "Mirela", Association of Families of Missing Persons, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 15/06/12.
93. Confidential Interview, Association of Families of Missing Persons, *Personal Interview*, Republika Srpska, 08/06/12.
94. Suvada Selimović, President of Association "Anima 2005", *Personal Interview,* Đulići, 08/06/12.
    The women of Đulići were not allowed to lay flowers at the Technical School Centre in Karakaj until 2011, following a verdict from the Court in Belgrade that a detention camp had been there. Before this, the existence of the camp had been denied by local officials. In 2011, only five women were allowed to visit the site to lay flowers; in 2012 five buses of women attended.
95. Due to the fact that the politicisation of TJ is a sensitive issue, I have not disclosed the name of this interviewee.
96. Due to the fact that the politicisation of TJ is a sensitive issue, I have not disclosed the name of this interviewee.
97. Confidential Interview with "Jelena", Association of Families of Missing and Killed Soldiers from Republika Srpska, *Personal Interview,* Republika Srpska, 10/05/12.
98. Milijana Bojić, Founder of the Union of Associations of Families of Detained and Missing Persons of Republika Srpska, *Personal Interview,* Banja Luka, 18/10/11.
99. This point was raised by a number of interviewees.
100. Due to the sensitivity of this issue, I have not disclosed the name of this interviewee.
101. Nada Marković, Maja Kravica *Personal Interview,* Kravica, 31/10/11.
102. Confidential Interview with "Jelena", Association of Families of Missing and Killed Soldiers from Republika Srpska, *Personal Interview,* Republika Srpska, 10/05/12
    Indeed, the notion that Serbs were "genocidal" was articulated at two commemorative events I attended organised by an association from the Federation.

103. Confidential Interview with "Mirela", Association of Families of Missing Persons, *Personal Interview,* Sarajevo, 15/06/12.
104. Zdravka Karlica, President of the Organization of Families of Families of Captured and Killed Soldiers and Missing Civilians of Prijedor, *Personal Interview,* Banja Luka, 18/10/11.
105. Dobrinka Trifković, Association of Families of Captured and Fallen Soldiers and Civilians RS – Municipal organization Bijeljina, *Personal Interview,* Bijeljina, 14/05/12.
106. Representative of Family Association of Killed and Missing Defenders of Homeland War, Bugojno, *Personal Interview,* Bugojno, 28/05/12.
107. Staka Petrović, Municipal Organization of Families of Captured and Killed Soldiers and Missing Civilians, Zvornik, *Personal Interview,* Zvornik, 16/05/12.
108. Confidential Interview with "Ana", Association of Families of Missing Persons, *Personal Interview,* FBiH, 03/05/12.
109. Confidential Interview with "Ana", Association of Families of Missing Persons, *Personal Interview,* FBiH, 03/05/12.
110. A number of interviewees mentioned that families of missing persons were among the first to engage in dialogue following the war.
111. Semina Alekić, Organization of Families of Killed, Captured and Missing Persons "Vrbanja" Kotor Varoš *Personal Interview,* Travnik, 29/05/12.
112. I attended this event which took place on 29 August 2011.
113. "Representatives of missing persons' families meet in Sarajevo", *ICMP Press Release,* July 22, 2011; available at http://www.ic-mp.org/press-releases/representatives-of-families-of-the-missing-from-the-western-balkans-gather-in-sarajevo-predstavnici-porodica-nestalih-iz-zapadnog-balkana-okupili-su-se-u-sarajevu/ (accessed 28 January 2014).
114. Olgica Božanić, Representative of the Association of Families of Kidnapped and Missing Persons from Kosovo and Metohija, Republic of Serbia, cited in: "Representatives of missing persons' families meet in Sarajevo", *ICMP Press Release,* July 22, 2011; available at http://www.ic-mp.org/press-releases/representatives-of-families-of-the-missing-from-the-western-balkans-gather-in-sarajevo-predstavnici-porodica-nestalih-iz-zapadnog-balkana-okupili-su-se-u-sarajevu/ (accessed 28 January 2014).
115. Ema Čekić, chairperson of the Steering Board of the Regional Coordination Body, cited in: "Representatives of missing persons' families meet in Sarajevo", *ICMP Press Release,* July 22, 2011; available at http://www.ic-mp.org/press-releases/representatives-of-families-of-the-missing-from-the-western-balkans-gather-in-sarajevo-predstavnici-porodica-nestalih-iz-zapadnog-balkana-okupili-su-se-u-sarajevu/ (accessed 28 January 2014).

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CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

Since the end of the Cold War, post-conflict interventions to "deal with" violent pasts have moved from exception to global norm (Teitel 2003: 71). Through the deployment of various transitional justice (TJ) mechanisms—spanning criminal trials, truth-telling initiatives, reparations programmes, institutional reform, and so on—many societies have attempted to come to terms with complex legacies of mass violence and abuse. Early efforts to achieve peace and justice were critiqued as "gender blind"—for failing to adequately address sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) in conflict, and for neglecting the gender-specific interests and needs of women in transitional settings (Ní Aoláin and O'Rourke 2010; Buckley-Zistel and Stanley 2012). More recent initiatives have sought to incorporate both women and gender into formal and informal justice processes. Indeed, the transition from war to peace is increasingly viewed as providing a unique opportunity for gendered hierarchies and norms to be challenged and potentially transformed (Meintjes et al. 2001). Despite this, feminist scholars and activists point out that dominant modes of (re) building peace regularly reinforce gendered forms of peace characterised by injustice, inequality, and insecurity (Zarkov and Cockburn 2002). Furthermore, the discourses and practices of key peacebuilding agents also frequently (re)produce essentialised and instrumentalised representations of women's agency, contributing to their disempowerment (Hudson 2012).

M. O'Reilly, *Gendered Agency in War and Peace*, Rethinking Peace and Conflict Studies, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-352-00145-7_7

This study has explored the prospects and limitations of international efforts to build gender-just peace, examining in particular the case of post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). It has cast a feminist lens over dominant understandings of justice, and examined how two highly gendered legacies of war—sexual violence in conflict and wartime disappearances—are being addressed by both "top-down" and "bottom-up" initiatives. My analysis uncovered the gendered gaps and deficiencies, margins, and silences of current justice policies and practices. It also highlighted the differentiation and relative positioning of women and men, masculine and feminine, in official discourse emanating from international and domestic institutions. The preceding chapters demonstrate that many TJ mechanisms work to (re)inscribe rather than adequately contest gendered hierarchies of justice and redress. This has provoked diverse responses and resistances from survivors of SGBV and their representatives. Crucially, the preceding chapters examined how and why diverse forms of gendered agency emerge in response to international peacebuilding interventions. By exploring how activists articulate agency and resistance in relation to official discourse on TJ, this study demonstrates how women in BiH are working to expand the boundaries of post-conflict justice, to make justice better resonate with their situated interests, needs, and concerns.

Several aspects of this book differentiate it from many other studies of conflict and peacebuilding. Firstly, this study has combined a critical and feminist perspective on peace and justice interventions. Critical Peace and Conflict Studies scholars deploy many concepts (such as agency, resistance, everyday peace) with which feminist scholars also engage. However, the two fields fail to undertake direct and sustained dialogue, despite their shared concerns and potential for productive exchange.[1] In contrast, my study has highlighted the importance of working at the intersection between these fields. I have demonstrated that a feminist engagement with key peacebuilding concepts, namely justice and agency, helps to bolster critical analyses of conflict and peacebuilding processes. Insights from feminist theory and praxis provide a more nuanced understanding of the interactions and encounters between international peacebuilding actors and local activists in (post-)conflict contexts, particularly the capacity of women to respond agentially to key mechanisms of delivering peace and justice.

Secondly, this book has outlined an innovative theoretical framework for understanding gendered agency in (post)conflict contexts. This

combined a relational understanding of autonomy with a feminist post-structuralist framework. The first aspect, relational autonomy, spotlights the fact that the choices women make and the actions they (do or do not take) are shaped by the web of relations in which they are embedded, by the opportunities and constraints afforded by material and discursive structures. All of these factors, which vary across temporal, socio-cultural, and institutional contexts, are crucial for understanding how women develop and exercise the capacity to reflect on their circumstances, to determine which desires, goals, values, beliefs, and attitudes are important to them, and to respond to various justice interventions in ways that articulate forms of agency and resistance. The second aspect, the deployment of a feminist post-structuralist approach, highlights that the forms of agency that women foster and deploy are also shaped by the workings of power. Power, following Foucault, is conceived of as productive and enabling, rather than merely negative and constraining. Instead of assuming that women are fully autonomous individuals, I focus on how the power-laden discourses and practices of TJ work to construct women as particular kinds of subjects, with specific qualities, capacities, and identities. This theoretical framework allowed me to examine empirically the capacity of women to cultivate and deploy various modes and degrees of agency as they work to find appropriate ways of dealing with the wartime past. Whilst women are subjected to and constrained by *technologies of power*, they also frequently exercise power by reflecting upon their circumstances and by working to constitute themselves as particular kinds of subjects through *technologies of the self*. Victims, survivors, and their representatives demonstrate an ability to reflect on and to critique dominant discourses on justice that construct them as particular kinds of subjects and oblige them to undertake particular forms of action.

Thirdly, this study foregrounded the importance of achieving gender justice as a crucial aspect of peacebuilding. Fraser's three-dimensional model of justice was deployed in Chap. 4 to critique the dominant conceptualisations of justice outlined by official actors involved in the formulation and implementation of TJ strategies and mechanisms. This framework was also utilised to interrogate the conflicting visions of gender justice articulated by women activists in BiH. This highlighted how activists' responses work to promote, or alternatively impede, the emergence of gender-just forms of peace. Fraser's model enables us to conceive of the individual and collective campaigns of activists to achieve gender justice in BiH as struggles firstly *for* a form of justice that encompasses values such

as dignity, respect, and social esteem; and, secondly *against* injustices such as social stigma, discrimination, and inequalities of power, resources, and social standing. Fraser's model also offers a powerful lens to interrogate competing imaginings of justice being articulated within sites of international peace and security interventions. It enables the "dynamics of contestation" (Arnould 2016) surrounding top-down/international/elite-driven versus bottom-up/local/everyday justice processes to be exposed.

A fourth point differentiating this book from other studies is its extensive exploration of local understandings of "gender justice", as articulated by women victims, survivors, and their representatives. Other monographs and edited collections have highlighted the "gender politics" of transitional justice (O'Rourke 2013). Transitional justice mechanisms, including international criminal justice (Askin 1997), truth-telling (Ross 2003a, b), and reparations (Rubio-Marín 2009a, b, c, d), have been critiqued by feminist scholars for neglecting women's diverse experiences of conflict, and particularly for failing to address gender-based violence and abuse (Ní Aoláin and O'Rourke 2010; Buckley-Zistel and Stanley 2012). There is also a growing literature on the role of civil society actors in promoting transitional justice at the grassroots/local level (McEvoy and McGregor 2008; Volčič and Simić 2013; Bojicic-Dzelilovic et al. 2014). Yet qualitative studies of survivors' expectations of post-war justice are rare (Robins 2013) and very few studies have undertaken detailed analysis of the hopes, needs, and concerns of women survivors in particular (exceptions include Mishkowski and Mlinarević 2009; Ross 2003a, b). In response, this book has drawn on extensive fieldwork to understand how women survivors of wartime violence engage in struggles over justice, and in doing so (re) claim agency in the aftermath of trauma. Drawing on personal testimonies gathered from women activists and participant observation of "gender justice" events, the study highlights how women articulate their own visions of peace and justice in ways that reiterate or alternatively transgress dominant understandings. I have analysed how women activists in BiH variously draw on, take up, negotiate, and/or resist, official discourses surrounding issues of wartime rape and sexual violence, and of missing persons. This study has highlighted a wide spectrum of responses ranging from acceptance and compliance, to rejection and resistance, of specific institutions and mechanisms, with women also attempting to modify and negotiate hegemonic visions of justice being promoted in this post-conflict setting.

At the end of many of my interviews, I asked the final question, "What does peace and justice mean to you?" For some activists, punishment of perpetrators was a condition of peace: "Women who were raped, who are victims, will be at peace after people who did those things are punished."[2] For others, peace required finding "each and every missing person. There will be no peace before that".[3] Others rejected the idea that peace and justice had been achieved in Bosnia, viewing these terms as an elite discourse that did not resonate in everyday lives: "We have neither peace nor justice. For me, those are words coined by someone who earns money on them."[4] Similarly, another interviewee expressed the need for peace to satisfy basic needs: "It is easy to have peace and justice if you have a place to work, if you have money and food. […] In my opinion, that is the basic priority if we want peace. There cannot be peace if people are hungry."[5] As these responses indicate, women and survivors of SGBV have very different understandings of peace and of justice. One crucial manifestation of agency is their desire to find forms of peace and justice that are meaningful to them within the contexts of their situated lives and experiences.

Achieving Gender Justice in Post-Conflict Contexts: Recommendations for Revitalising Peacebuilding

BiH is the site of one of the most extensive international peacebuilding interventions. It is an important case to examine "lessons learned", since experiences from BiH are frequently drawn on to direct policymaking and programming in other post-conflict countries. Furthermore, following the adoption of UNSCR 1325 and subsequent WPS resolutions, many international and regional organisations working in BiH have committed themselves to advancing gender justice and equality through their organisational structures, policies, and programmes. BiH is therefore also a significant case to examine the gender politics of peacebuilding, and provide suggestions for how peacebuilding organisations can better engage with women and with SGBV survivors as agents of peace.

Based on the findings outlined in each of the substantive chapters, the remainder of this chapter outlines some of the wider conclusions that can be drawn from my evaluation of women's activism and gender justice initiatives in post-conflict BiH. I identify a number of key propositions for constructing gender-just forms of peace in societies impacted by armed conflict. If applied

with careful consideration of the specificities of each conflict context—including directing specific attention to situated, bottom-up initiatives to promote gender justice and women's rights—these recommendations offer suggestions for (re)building gender-just peace. These propositions challenge both orthodox and critical approaches to Peace & Conflict Studies, and dominant practices of peacebuilding, which largely fail to adequately conceptualise the gendered harms of war requiring remedy, and neglect the gendered structures of inequality that precede, exacerbate, and frequently persist post-conflict.

Proposition One

Fraser's tripartite theory of justice can be utilised to (re)imagine gender justice in peacebuilding contexts.

This study has highlighted the centrality of gender justice to post-conflict peacebuilding. It extended Nancy Fraser's tripartite framework to peacebuilding contexts, and advanced notions of recognition, redistribution, and representation as crucial components of gender-just peace. Fraser's trivalent model offers a powerful analytical tool for exploring the varied policies, practices and outcomes of peacebuilding interventions. It renders visible the gendered modes of exclusion, marginalisation, and inequality that are frequently constructed in post-conflict settings. This framework also provides crucial principles, concepts, and strategies which can guide the design and implementation of gender justice initiatives. It is therefore a powerful resource for evaluating peace.

Fraser's model provides a particularly valuable framework for evaluating whether and how TJ mechanisms remedy gender injustice by challenging the effects of maldistribution, misrecognition, and misrepresentation, and/or transforming the underlying structures through which these injustices are (re)produced. Significantly, it brings into focus certain actors and issues, such as war-affected women and socio-economic justice, which remain unrecognised or marginalised from dominant modes of peacebuilding (see also Lai 2016; Martin 2016). Overall, the model of gender justice proposed by Nancy Fraser provides a powerful conceptual toolkit for identifying and evaluating the gender justice concerns and needs of conflict-affected groups; detecting and responding to disparities and omissions in gender justice

provision; and developing appropriate guidelines for achieving positive peace in the aftermath of conflict. This framework can be deployed to identify and respond to a wide range of gender-based violence and harms. It can also help scholars and practitioners (re)imagine justice and redress in ways that transform rather than reinforce gender inequalities of power.

Proposition Two

Gendered agency in peacebuilding contexts must be adequately conceptualised, to enable gender-just forms of peace to emerge.

The study has highlighted the importance of viewing women in post-war contexts as neither passive victims of violence nor superheroines of peacebuilding and TJ processes. Their agency is partial and constrained, emerging as it does in relation to power-laden discursive and institutional structures. Women are at times empowered by particular TJ interventions, and seek to make them fit with their desires and needs. At other times, women feel disempowered and even oppressed by these discourses and practices, leading them to view them with suspicion or disdain. This study has shown that women subjected to wartime rape, sexual violence, and other forms of torture, and/or women whose family and friends were killed during the conflict, are not only *victims* but are also *survivors of armed conflict*. Their everyday struggles demonstrate their capacities for agency and resistance in relation to powerful discourses that construct boundaries between "normal" and "abnormal" or "helpful" and "unhelpful" ways of responding to trauma, or which produce victims and survivors as docile bodies or disciplined subjects. Women activists in BiH are operating in a deeply challenging, and at times debilitating, social and political context. In exercising agency, by articulating claims for recognition, redistribution, and/or political voice, women attempt to manage and/or transform conditions of injustice, insecurity, and inequality, of exclusion and marginalisation, but doing so entails risks––of harassment, of reputational damage, and even physical violence.[6]

Despite the recent turn in Critical Peace and Conflict Studies to study agency, everyday resistance, and hybrid forms of peace (Richmond and Mitchell 2011; Mac Ginty 2011a, b), critical peacebuilding scholars have failed to explore local expressions of gendered agency and resistance that

emerge in response to international peacebuilding interventions (O'Reilly 2013: 58). The gendered nature of contemporary peacebuilding, and the responses of women-centred groups and movements remain largely overlooked (see e.g. McLeod 2015; O'Reilly 2012). Visions of peace and justice articulated by women in post-conflict settings are almost entirely missing from critical analyses of international peacebuilding, despite their insistence on bottom-up theorising. This study has addressed this gap by providing an innovative theoretical framework and novel empirical insights into the local responses and resistances generated by international peacebuilding. In doing so, it has advanced feminist social and political theory as a significant avenue of analysis for critical peace and conflict studies scholarship.

Proposition Three

It is crucial to ensure the full and meaningful participation of women and SGBV experts in formal peace processes.

Building gender-just peace in the aftermath of conflict requires promoting women's participation and representation in peacemaking. The inclusion of female mediators, gender experts, and women's civil society groups in formal peace processes—throughout pre-negotiation, negotiation, and implementation phases—increases the likelihood that peace agreements will reflect and uphold women's diverse interests, rights, and needs. The BiH case highlights the problems of excluding elite and grassroots women and gender issues from peace negotiations. Dayton's top-down approach was described as "a dialogue of men, often with purely militaristic overtones" (Lithander 2000: 20). It produced a gender-blind agreement that focused on narrowly defined security issues and prioritised ethnicity over other identities (including gender) (Lithander 2000; Chinkin and Paradine 2001). The gendered logic and impact of the BiH conflict were not adequately addressed by the peace settlement, and consequently pre-existing structures of inequality (of gender in intersection with other axes of differentiation) were reinforced and even intensified in the post-war period.

Proposition Four

It is vital to ensure that the achievement of gender justice is reconceptualised as fundamental to peacebuilding.

SGBV perpetrated against women and girls, men, and boys during the war in BiH received an unprecedented level of international attention, as evidenced by the numerous fact-finding missions sent to the region and the establishment of the ICTY. Curiously, however, scant attention was paid to women's rights, diverse needs, unequal status, and their precarious future by the international organisations mandated to implement the Dayton Agreement (Domi 2002: 38). Women were regarded as "simply not relevant" (Ibid.) to the overall goal of constructing a liberal peace. Gender issues were not included on any of the mandates of the military and civilian actors engaged in peace implementation (Hasanbegović and Trbonja 2009: 7). In addition, very few women occupied senior positions in the international organisations engaged in peace implementation in the early years (Domi 2002: 38), reducing the likelihood of gender justice issues surfacing as legitimate concerns in mainstream programmes and activities. Issues of gender justice and equality have been afforded low priority by the domestic political elite in comparison to matters which are constructed as threats to their respective "national interests".[7] This situation can partly be blamed on the ongoing domination of Bosnia's political sphere by ethno-nationalist politicians whose patriarchal values continue to construct women in subordinate terms (Cockburn 1998: 161–162). Yet, international peacebuilding actors are also complicit in the sidelining of gender justice, despite their professed commitment to building a peace based upon liberal principles which are assumed to be "gender-neutral".

Proposition Five

International courts and criminal tribunals should connect the recognition of SGBV in conflict with the goals of enhancing survivor participation in criminal proceedings and advancing redistributive forms of justice, to enable prosecutions to contribute to the transformation of underlying inequalities that enabled SGBV to emerge.

The prosecution of rape and sexual violence at the ICTY is celebrated as "a significant and positive development for international humanitarian law" (Sellers and Okuizumi 1997: 47). Prosecutions signal an end to the rampant impunity that perpetrators have historically enjoyed. The ICTY had a "specific intent" to prosecute perpetrators of rape and sexual

assaults—as evidenced by the Tribunal's Statute which explicitly recognised rape as a crime against humanity, by its Rules of Procedure and Evidence which recognised the importance of providing protection and support to sexual assault victims, and finally by a number of indictments dealing specifically with sexual offences (Sellers and Okuizumi 1997). However, whilst complete impunity for crimes of sexual violence has ended, justice for many survivors has yet to come. This study has highlighted a number of disparities and omissions in the gender justice provided by the ICTY. As was shown, the Tribunal has extended only partial recognition of patterns of sexual violence in conflict and of specific groups of victims. It has achieved limited participation of survivors in criminal proceedings, and failed to effectively address demands for redistributive justice. Achieving gender justice entails connecting the recognition of SGBV in conflict through criminal trials with the wider aim of challenging wider inequalities of power that enabled SGBV to emerge. This entails further development of legal categories of sexual and gender-based crimes (Campbell 2016). It also requires ongoing work to address institutional obstacles and to challenge gender stereotypes which continue to impede prosecutions. Furthermore, legal institutions should enable survivors to access transformative forms of reparations rather than continuing to sideline issues of redistributive justice.

Proposition Six

To promote gender justice, truth-telling initiatives should aim to achieve parity of participation across multiple axes of differentiation, and connect principles of recognition and participation with proposals for redistributive change.

Truth-telling mechanisms are increasingly advocated as a helpful alternative or complement to criminal trials (e.g. Mertus 2004: 124). Truth commissions and other mechanisms hold potential to transform gender relations and generate "changes in existing laws and patterns of behavior that have contributed to inequality and discrimination" (World Bank, cited in Valji 2007: 15). They can provide victims with a public platform to voice their experiences, and often consider a "broad array of testimonies when analyzing and describing the greater pattern of abuse" (Hayner 2002: 28). Whilst early truth commissions were largely "gender blind", more recent initiatives have incorporated women and gender into truth

recovery processes (Theidon 2007: 457; Valji 2010: 9–13).[8] Informal initiatives are increasingly deployed by grassroots women's organisations to challenge and reinterpret dominant conceptions of justice promulgated by formal justice institutions, in ways that acknowledge and respond to the gendered harms of conflict, and respond to women's situated interests and needs (e.g. Chinkin 2006; Crosby and Lykes 2011; Kumar 2001; Reilly and Posluszny 2005).[9] The case study presented in Chap. 5, the Women's Court for the former Yugoslavia, highlights both the positive contributions and potential limitations of informal truth-telling projects. By opening up a new space for women to consider how they have in various ways and to differing degrees been victimised by and/or been able to demonstrate resistance to violence, the Women's Court hoped to achieve gender justice and redress for women affected by armed conflict. The initiative placed women at the centre of TJ as a process, and aimed to empower women to become agents of social and political change. The testimonies presented by survivors provided valuable insights into the gendered impact of wartime violence and transition from war to peace, into the legacies of pain, loss, and injury, but also of the forms of agency that emerge in the aftermath of trauma. Yet, the Court struggled to achieve recognition and representation of particular communities of survivors and categories of harm. Its "bottom-up" nature and focus on the micro-level means it will struggle to ensure that its efforts "trickle up" to achieve transformative change at the macro-level, particularly in the area of redistributive justice. This highlights the importance of achieving parity of participation across multiple axes of differentiation, and of connecting principles of recognition and participation with proposals for redistributive change.

Proposition Seven

Achieving gender justice requires the introduction of an extensive state-sponsored reparations programme, which should provide individual and collective forms of reparations, in order to achieve a significant redistribution of material resources.

The BiH case has highlighted the limitations of judicial approaches in providing redress for survivors, and fragmented administrative approaches to reparations which reinscribe hierarchies of suffering, care, and support. There is a need for extensive state-sponsored reparations programme to emerge, which would redistribute material resources through individual and collective forms of reparations. This should respond to the multiple,

ongoing, and inter-connected nature of harms flowing from conflict-related SGBV, with full appreciation of the destructive impact of war-related violence on the lives of survivors both in the short and long term (Urban Walker 2009; Duggan and Jacobson 2009). Full and meaningful participation by survivors, victims' associations, women's organisations, and relevant groups within civil society should be ensured throughout the development, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation stages. This inclusion can generate a "reparative effect[s] by affirming the victims' status as active citizens" (Rubio-Marín 2009a: 16). Reparations are both backward and forward-looking in outlook—they aim to not only redress past violations or harms, but also contribute to the construction of a more just society (Rubio-Marín 2009c: 382). Any future programme should be transformative, by addressing not only the immediate causes and consequences of specific violations, but also challenging pre-existing cultural, socio-economic, and political inequalities that enable SGBV to emerge (Rubio-Marín 2009a: 17). In this regard, the concept and framework for the development of a gender-sensitive reparations programme for civilian war victims in BiH, proposed by BiH activists from Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, is highly significant in advancing several transformative measures to address SGBV in conflict as part of a continuum of violence and discrimination endured before, during, and after conflict (see Isaković and Mlinarević 2016).

Notes

1. This point was identified in dialogue with Laura McLeod. The few studies which do operate at the intersection between Critical and Feminist Peace and Conflict Studies include McLeod (2015); O'Reilly (2012).
2. Azra Hasanbegović, Žene BiH, *Personal Interview*, Mostar, 12/10/11.
3. Ferida Nišić, Treasurer of Association for Tracing Captured and Missing from Hadžići, *Personal Interview*, Hadžići, 28/06/11.
4. Senka Zulum, Viktorija 99, *Personal Interview*, Jajce, 08/06/11.
5. Mejra Dautović, *Personal Interview*, Bihać, 24/04/12.
6. As Madhok and Rai (2012) have pointed out in their study of a state-sponsored initiative for women's development in Northwest India, women's mobilisation for "transgressive politics" can involve exposure to vulnerability, risk, and injury.
7. As Aleksandra Petrić explained, issues that are not associated with national identity are not recognised as a priority by politicians.

Aleksandra Petrić, Program Director of United Women, *Personal Interview,* Banja Luka, 2/09/11.

8. Examples include establishing women's hearings, dedicated gender units, gender quotas for commissioners and staff, and specialised witness protection and support; building partnerships with local and international women's organisations; and constructing "gender-responsive" mandates that are inclusive of women and sensitive to gender-based violence (Theidon 2007: 457; Valji 2010: 9–13).
9. Women's organisations have organised dozens of women's courts and tribunals across the world, with themes ranging from sexual violence, to human trafficking, and the rights of indigenous women. Key examples include the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery (Tokyo, 2000); and the Global Tribunal on Violations of Women's Human Rights (Vienna, 1993).

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